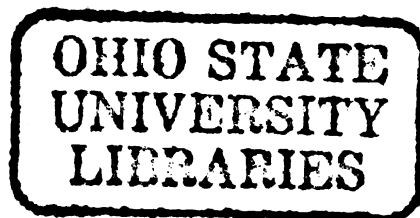


THE JEWS AND THE WAR
MEMORANDUM
of the
Jewish Socialist Labor Confederation Poale-Zion
to the
International Socialist Bureau



P R E F A C E

The memorandum which we are submitting for the consideration of the International Workingmen's Association has a specifically defined object. It is intended to inform the proletarian public of the effects of the war upon the life of the Jewish people. For this purpose we have collected a number of documents which, for the most part, need no commentary, but the collection is by no means complete. Many documents, such as secret orders of military and civil authorities, are not accessible during the war, and other gaps are due to the difficulties of communication with the warfaring countries. Unfortunately the collecting of Jewish war documents, which are of importance for future historians, has not yet been systematized, and the present work was started only a few months ago. We have included only documents that contain authentic utterances or facts, the accuracy of which is guaranteed by their official character, or by the position of the authors or speakers. To illustrate the standpoint of the opponents of the Jewish people or of Jewish demands, we have allowed them to speak for themselves. It was necessary to bring the contradictions of Jewish life, which have been laid bare with elemental force by the war into close connection with the situation of the Jews in the warfaring countries before the war. This Memorandum provides such a survey and we believe, the necessary explanations of the attitude of the Jewish people toward its neighboring peoples. But it does not claim, by any means, to give a presentation of the Jewish question in its entirety. Such a task was not possible within the scope of a Memorandum upon the actual situation, but our views concerning the Jewish question are nevertheless given adequate expression. Although we set out with an account of the situation in the various countries, this Memorandum, nevertheless, points clearly enough to one important fact—the uniformity of the Jewish question in all these countries. There is a profound contrast between the conditions of life of the Jews from Eastern Europe to Palestine (we might add,—from Wilna to Chicago also) and their needs in regard to economic and intellectual development. The war has thrown a lurid light upon this deep-rooted antithesis; it has shown cruelly but clearly that when the national questions of Europe and the Near East are settled after the war the Jewish question may not be overlooked or ignored. The proletarian International has the historic duty, when the Peace negotiations will be conducted, to utter the redeeming word of justice and truth in connection with the Jewish question too.

We know that in the labor movement in Western Europe the attempts to secure the active sympathy of the proletariat for the Jewish cause are occasionally met by the

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uneasy feeling that it is desired to convert Social Democracy into a body-guard for the Jews. That it is not exactly a distinction to take the part of the persecuted Jewish people—one may be reminded, for example, of the resolution of the International Socialist Congress in Brussels, which rejects Philo-Semitism equally with Anti-Semitism—is explained by the fact that in the European labor world Jewry is wont to be judged by its scanty fragment in Western Europe. Hence the view that the Jews are a caste of financiers, merchants and manufacturers, who, in accord with the consistent suppression of all racial prejudices, are protected against persecutions, but who have really nothing in common with the proletariat as a class. Nothing would be more erroneous than to judge the entire Jewish people by this plutocratic upper stratum. The masses of the Jewish people consist of the middle class and the proletariat who have a hard struggle for existence. This fact is generally unknown, and may therefore be illustrated with a few figures.

At the last Russian Census in 1897, there were 5,063,000 Jews, of whom 1,957,000 lived by trade. On the other hand, there were 2,774,000 Jews who were engaged in manual labor and manufacturing (1,794,400), in casual labor of all kinds (335,000), in liberal professions (265,000), in transport (201,000), and in agriculture (179,000). But just as the Jews "employed in manufactures" are almost exclusively hard pressed artisans working for themselves, so those engaged in trade ought not to be regarded as well-to-do merchants. They are mostly wretched hawksters and shopkeepers, who are in constant danger of sinking to the low level of the unemployed. Thus, as at least two-thirds of the Jews of Russia belong to the classes who live by the labor of their hands, the proletariat forms more than one-third of the Jewish population. According to the official statistics and reliable private enumerations there were, in 1897, among the Jews of Russia: more than 275,000 workmen in trades and industries, 175,000 in wage-labor of various kinds, about 150,000 trade proletarians, that is, altogether 600,000 workmen engaged in trades; thus, including the dependents, we have a laboring population of 1,500,000 to 1,800,000 souls. Since the year 1897 the conditions, according to all indications, have undergone a change rather in the direction of a considerable increase of the wage proletariat. Thus, one-third of the Jews of Russia belongs to the laboring class.

The conditions are similar in Austria, where, according to the census of 1900, there were 1,225,000 Jews distributed among the following occupations: there were 430,000 Jews engaged in trade as compared with 676,000 who maintained themselves by manual labor and manufactures (351,000), wage-labor of different kinds (67,000), transport (38,000), liberal professions (80,000), and agriculture (140,000).* What has been said about the hard struggle for existence of the Jewish middle class in Russia, holds good in still higher degree of the Austrian region occupied by the Jewish masses—

* In Russia those employed in forestry and agriculture, are mostly peasants (in South Russia), in Austria, on the contrary, the number of tenant farmers is very considerable.

Galicja and the Bukowina. In Austria, too, we have a numerous Jewish proletariat: 81,500 workmen in manual labor and manufactures, 42,600 business employees, 48,000 wage-laborers of various kinds. These 172,000 proletarians, with their dependents, make up a laboring population of 350,000 to 450,000 souls, or one-third of the Jews of Austria.

If we turn our gaze across the ocean, to the United States, where, within three decades, the second largest Jewish centre has arisen, we find still greater masses of Jewish laborers concentrated. At least 60 percent of the immigrants are displaced proletarian artisans, who have been absorbed in the huge "Jewish needle industries." Thus, of the 2½ million Jews who have settled there since 1881, there are at least 1½ million laborers engaged in various industries. As a matter of fact, there are in the United States about 350,000 organized Jewish laborers (about a quarter of a million in New York alone), and if one adds the number of laborers not yet organized, who are at least 150,000, and their family dependents, one arrives at the same result. Thus, one half of the Jews of the United States belongs to the laboring class.

We do not wish to burden this preface with any further statistics. The figures already given show clearly enough that the Jews are a people of the economically weak and oppressed and of proletarians. That is why the Jewish labor movement was always a devoted propagator of Socialist ideals and became, despite its youth, such an important factor in the politics of the Jewish people; and that is why large masses of the Jewish people see their best friend and advocate in the international association of working-men. One has to look far back in Jewish history, as far as the Crusades or the last death-struggle with the Romans in Judaea, to find such devastation as that wrought by this war in Jewish life. The Jewish people needs the friendship of the best and noblest of all peoples, and it has deserved it too.

The Jews and the War

MEMORANDUM

OF THE JEWISH SOCIALIST LABOR CONFEDERATION POALE ZION TO THE
INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU.

I

THE JEWISH PROLETARIAT AND THE INTERNATIONAL.

The present collection of documents is essentially different from the multi-colored "books" that contain diplomatic documents of all kinds. Its object is not to prove the right of any people to seize the sword in order to solve the questions of its existence by causing the blood of its own sons and of its enemies to be shed in streams. Not the pressure to engage in war, nor the right of national self-defence, will be here discussed.

For the Jewish people as a whole does not regard any of the belligerent nations as an enemy that must be vanquished; it has never thought of invading, with armed strength, the frontiers of any State for the purpose of annexation; nor has it any territorial frontiers to defend. The Jews as a national community do not carry on any war of conquest or of self-defence. Our national interests have never had anything in common with the imperialistic ambitions of some State or other. We are taking no national side in this stupendous struggle of the nations. Yet no people has to suffer so severely under its terrible effects, none to bring such countless sacrifices to the war.

This pamphlet and the appended documents are only a feeble attempt to bring home the human and national martyrdom of the overwhelming majority of the Jewish people, of nine million Jews in Europe and Asia Minor, to the consciousness of the civilized world.

Still this collection is no appeal to the "conscience of the civilized nations," as occasionally the public opinion of the middle classes modestly terms itself. The war has taught us that in the political code of law of our time mankind and humanity are not juridical persons. The classes interested in the maintenance of existing society and the ruling groups that exercise a decisive influence upon the life and activity of the advanced civilized nations are deaf to the cries for help of a people bathed in blood, which has no significance upon the map, which cannot convincingly prove its cultural

value either with Krupp cannon or with machine-guns, and which, in the capitalistic economy, is of no consideration either as a source of production or as a market. What capitalistic or political fighting value have the Jews as a nation? We provide hundreds of thousands of soldiers, and our plutocracy is interested in the financing of the war in both groups of powers. But the Jews as a people are politically impotent.

The only people on earth that is without a land, dispossessed of its heritage and property, sees its natural ally in the disinherited and property-less of all nations, in the working-class which is struggling for its inalienable rights, for the honor and freedom of humanity. The Jewish labor movement was always animated by the best traditions of Socialism. We recognized in the Socialist organization not only our guide in the battle against social bondage. We have always hoped that the Socialist International will also comprehend the sufferings and hopes of the Jewish people, and will assist us as well as all oppressed "small" nations in our final endeavor to secure the liberty and the future of the Jewish people. Hence, nowhere was the sorrow more general and sincere than in the ranks of the Jewish proletariat of all parties when the Socialist International became a victim of the epidemic of national hatred. Certainly, we know that the institutions of international Socialism have only a moral value and do not possess any real power, that the hard necessities of national life can prove stronger than the leading ideas of the International Workingmen's Federation. The Socialist International was more a symbol of the coming empire of free labor and equality. But for this symbol hundreds of thousands of Jewish working-men also fought for a generation, and thousands staked their life and liberty.

Hence there was profound disappointment and consternation in the Jewish proletariat when the Socialist International proved itself incapable of bringing about an international action of the working classes in order to avert the catastrophe brought upon the world. We felt even more grieved when irreconcilability and war ideology, nay, even Chauvinist exaggerations, yielded the proof that the Socialist movement is not altogether immune from the bourgeois incendiary influences in the warring countries.

Nevertheless, the United Socialist International continues to live in our consciousness. We have no doubt whatsoever that it will emerge from this massacre of nations endowed with new life, with youth and strength. Its dissolution has not been due to any imperialistic lust for power, and we are convinced that in no country did the Socialists make peace with militarism. They have taken up the sword in the honest conviction that their national independence is threatened, in the honest desire of guaranteeing the liberty and equality of the nations as a preliminary condition of a free union of nations. The war will deepen the conviction that not capitalism and its instruments—Militarism and Imperialism—can realize this aim of the laboring class. The need of a direct understanding of the working masses of all nations for the settlement of their conflicts in the spirit of humanity and liberty will restore to the International its capacity for action.

It is to this tribunal of working humanity that we appeal. The International, which is fighting for the abolition of slavery and tyranny in national and international life, will understand us too.

THE JEWISH TRAGEDY.

In the midst of the world tragedy, which sorely affects all nations alike, there is also taking place a Jewish tragedy of unparalleled dimensions and of unprecedented misery and gravity. We do not wish to speak of the overwhelming tragedy that lies in the fact that sons of the same people, Jews of the two warring groups of countries, are engaged in mutual slaughter. The whole barbarity and indignity of the war are brought home to our consciousness when we realize, to our horror, that Jews of Russia and Austria, who are united not only by national bonds, but often also through numerous family ties, are arrayed in arms against one another. We share this fate with other nations—with the Poles and Serbs, the Armenians and Ukrainians—in short, with all nations who are dispersed among different States.

Nor do we wish to complain of the economic catastrophe that has robbed millions of our people, the poorest of the poor, of bread, of work, of shelter, and of hope; although our economic collapse has no parallel, and we, in this case, have not even the rare consolation of not being the only ones afflicted. The war is being fought out upon the economic ruins of the Jews of Eastern Europe. The peasant can forfeit harvest and cattle, he can lose hearth and home, but the most important basis of his existence—the land—cannot be torn away from him. The Jews are almost exclusively an urban people; they are crowded for the most part in backward branches of production in trade and industry, and the foundations of their economic existence have been seriously shaken for years. The war, which is located in Galicia, Russian Poland, and Lithuania, that is, in countries with a compact Jewish population, has plunged the masses of the Jewish people, with the exception of a small section, which, as in all countries, benefits by the war industries, into absolute economic bankruptcy. Its consequences cannot yet be foreseen. In many places the complete standstill of economic activity has produced unparalleled distress, wholesale famine and, as a natural consequence, moral depravity. Hundreds of thousands of men and women, who have been torn away from their homes, are ready to emigrate, if only the lands across the seas do not close their hospitable portals against them.

Yet all these sufferings do not exhaust the measure of the trials imposed upon nine million Jews, upon two-thirds of the entire Jewish people. In the midst of the war, Jewry has to endure a war of extermination in States for which hundreds of thousands of Jewish soldiers are shedding their blood, for whose policy of might millions of Jews are paying with their lives. War has been declared upon the Jewish people by powerful Governments and by great influential sections of its non-Jewish fellow-citizens.

The tragedy of the Jewish people is immeasurably enhanced when we reflect that its innumerable victims are sacrificed without reason or object, without any historical and national justification. We are no adherents of the "emancipation legend,"

of the belief that the bloody struggle for the increase of power and predominance will fulfill an act of salvation. We do not believe that the vital question of the oppressed nations can be solved by passages of arms. We refuse to accept this organized murder of nations as an historically necessary means of human progress. This does not prevent us from admitting that the mighty upheavals in the life of a State or of a people, caused by a war, can have a beneficent influence. The present titanic struggle of nations, for example, has aroused many slumbering hopes. Nations that have been subjugated, despoiled of their land, and dismembered, peoples that have been reduced by centuries of oppression to mere tribes without a history, except that this decisive conflict will bring about their reunion and their national renaissance, the attainment of their longed-for self-determination of their own fates, the removal of their dependence upon powerful neighbors. Such are the thoughts, beliefs and hopes of the Poles and Ukrainians, the Serbs and Belgians, the Turks and Armenians, the Lithuanians and the Letts, who all find comfort in this expectation. But we Jews are denied even this consoling thought. The sufferings and tribulations of thousands of years have taught us that our national destiny is not decided upon battlefields. The Jewish people has deleted the shedding of blood and the slaughtering of enemies from its political dictionary. We gaze in dumb despair upon our heaps of corpses, upon the flower of our people that has been sacrificed. The war will not overthrow the principles of our national existence, it will scarcely affect the complicated problems of our life in their essence, it will not restore to us the liberty of developing our specific character, nor ensure our existence as a people. Thus we are reduced to the rank of a "Foreign Legion," which is fighting in all armies for alien interests or hopes. Thus has an ancient civilized people of 13 millions, which has wrought such valuable achievements in all spheres of thought and knowledge, of art and social endeavor, been humiliated to the level of a nation without a history.

For this is how we are esteemed even by the best of our time. The general principles of the protection of national minorities, of the right of national self-preservation and self-administration, are no longer valid when we demand their application to the masses of the Jewish people. Not only do the governments disregard the rights and demands of Jewry, but these find no sympathy even among the subjugated nations struggling for their own liberty, even among those of other nations that have been bereft of their rights and inheritance.

II

R U S S I A . The war has thrown a lurid light upon the lack, both of human and national rights on the part of the Jews. The thunder of the cannons has failed to drown the cries for help uttered in their boundless despair by one half of the Jewish people—the Jews of Russia. The terrors of the middle ages have been surpassed: nay, crimes of such magnitude, perpetrated upon defenceless men and women, are utterly unknown in mediaeval history. The position of the Jews in Russia has been a disgrace to civilization for centuries; but it has been condoned or hushed up out of anxiety for the mighty despotism of the Tsar. A celebrated Jew of our time has

characterized the attitude of the Russian rulers to their Jewish subjects, in the following striking passage:—

“They are laboring there with the unbridled energy of homicidal mania for our complete extermination. ‘This brood must be rooted out,’ is the leading idea that determines all these Government measures against our unhappy brethren. The treatment to which they are subjected is characterized by the statement that ‘the Jews are to be deprived of rights and proletarianized.’ Such expressions are much too weak. An educated person of the twentieth century will never ascribe to the deprivation of rights the terrible significance that it actually has in the countries concerned. Not only are the Jews denied all civil rights, but they are also denied all human rights—even the rights that are allowed to the beast. The Jew is an outlaw. He may be abused, ill-treated, robbed, despoiled, even murdered, without having any protection accorded to him either by the law or the authorities. If the Jew wishes to defend himself, the expression of this innate instinct of self-preservation is punished like the rashest rebellion. The Jew must humbly submit to being plundered, he must offer his throat without resistance to the knife of the murderer. If the criminals are officials, no recourse can be had either to lawsuit or judges. If they are private individuals, then, owing to a certain automatism of the Government institutions, which work in their own prescribed fashion, the culprits are occasionally condemned, but only to be pardoned immediately after. If no violence is exercised against the Jews, then they are forced to pay ransom, which is fixed capriciously and extorted at pleasure; and by all the most cunning methods of terrorism they are kept in a permanent state of fear and anxiety as to the possibilities of the next hour, a state of mind which completely shatters their brain and nervous system, to the great satisfaction of their tormentors.

“That is the real meaning of the term ‘the denial of rights’ which, to the ear of an unsophisticated cultured individual, no longer sounds so terrible. By proletarianizing one simply means the reduction of individuals and groups of the population to the lower class of society, their conversion into dependent wage-earners without any economic security as regards the following day, their exclusion from the higher professions and from advanced education with their moral satisfactions, their external honors and material successes. It is impossible to speak of a proletarianization in this sense in regard to the treatment of the Jewish masses. They are shut out of all higher callings, they are barred from all education, it is true; but they are not converted into laborers; on the contrary, they are prevented from becoming laborers, as they are prohibited to dwell in almost all the industrial districts, where they could earn wages, and as almost all trades are made inaccessible to them even where they are tolerated. Things have reached such a pass that to-day millions of Jews wish nothing more ardently than to be able to become proletarians. But even that is not allowed. They are to become pariahs in education and intellectual development, pariahs in abjectness and general depravity, certainly; but not proletarians in the modern economic sense of the word. What is aimed at is not simply the denial of rights, the mere proletarianization, but the degradation, the brutalization, and the gradual strangulation. A crime is committed against

millions of innocent beings, for which there is no parallel in the history of wholesale murders." (1)

If this account holds good for the so-called peace times, then indeed one requires the eloquence and the indignation of a prophet to describe the present catastrophe. The massacres of Jews formerly organized by the military, which had become a constituent factor in the internal policy of the Russian Empire, were carried out only from time to time, and only in the year 1905 was there a simultaneous outbreak in numerous cities. But what has taken place within the last year in the sphere of power or operations of the Russian army is an organized and methodical campaign, bordering upon the insane, against millions of Jewish citizens, both in Russia and in the occupied part of Galicia. Six hundred thousand Russian Jews were banished by the Government from their places of residence, whilst at least as many had to flee from their homes owing to the position of the war.

At first all the Jews from the villages in Poland, Lithuania, and Galicia, within a zone of 50 kilometers behind the front, were "evacuated." This zone, upon the retreat of the Russian army after the May battles in Galicia, was shifted more and more to the interior of the Jewish Pale of Settlement. Then followed the wholesale expulsion of 280,000 Jews in 48 hours from the Governments of Kovno and Courland. Not until the number of banished Jews exceeded half a million were they permitted to settle in certain governments outside the Pale of Settlement.

The Russian military authorities, in official proclamations and in their press, declared all Jews to be spies and scouts in the service of the Central Powers and thus placed hundreds of thousands beyond the law. The advance of the Russian army was converted into an unbroken succession of humiliations, plunderings, outrages, violations of women, tortures, executions, wholesale murders, committed in all places with an appreciable Jewish population upon hundreds of thousands of innocent and defenceless Jewish men and women, greybeards and children. The details are too revolting and harrowing to be described here.

Russia has declared war upon its Jewish population, and is waging a cruel and pitiless battle of extermination against a people of six millions. The wicked and inhuman infamies perpetrated by the army and the authorities could not be entirely suppressed in the press even by the Russian censorship: for misery stalked through every street, shrieks of despair burst from the sealed cattle-trucks into which the Jewish exiles were packed, distress and diseases grew apace in the new places of settlement, and the blood of the innocent who had been executed or lashed to death by the heroes

(1. Dr. Max Nordau, Speech delivered in August, 1911, at the Tenth Zionist Congress in Basle.

That Nordau's description is not based upon unusual acts of violence or particularly cross cases, but unsparingly characterizes the actual situation, is shown by the following facts: In the pogroms of 1905 and 1906, which were tolerated by the Russian authorities or directly organized, almost without any attempt at concealment, more than 1000 Jews were killed, about 2000 were wounded and about 214,000 Jews suffered a loss of property amounting to \$33,000,000. The figures here given represent only a part of the total number of victims. (Die Judenpogrome in Russland, Judischer Verlag, Berlin, 1910.)

of the knout cried for revenge. The truth thus penetrated across the Russian frontier months ago. The speeches of the deputies at the last session of the Duma contained statements and revelations, which the occupants of the Government bench did not even attempt to refute. One does not know at what to be more astonished—at the enormity of the countless crimes committed, or at the stupendous hypocrisy and audacity of the Russian Government, which, both from the tribune of the Duma or through its Ambassadors and press agents in allied and neutral countries, has unscrupulously denied all Jewish persecutions. Nay, the Government even announced officially that the position of the Russian Jews had improved since the beginning of the war. It must truthfully be stated that the reactionary majority of the Russian Duma supports the policy of the Government, which presents an ambiguous front to the outer world, but is inflexibly brutal at home. The majority, in its vote of confidence passed on August 5, 1915, accepted the Jesuitical division of the citizens of Russia into a loyal and a suspicious class, rejected the supplementary motion of the Opposition which demanded the abolition of all discriminating laws against the non-Russian peoples, and refused to admit the urgency of the interpellation of the Social Democratic faction and the Labor Party concerning the Jewish policy of the Government. Thus, the various parties of the Russian Duma, from the "Real Russian" Nationalists to the Octobrists, are guilty of complicity in their Government's campaign of extermination against the Jewish people.

History knows no example of an army on its own soil raging against its "own fellow-citizens" more violently than in an enemy's country. The number of Jews, who, driven from hearth and home, have had to take up the wanderer's staff is estimated at a million and a half; whilst the total number of people rendered homeless by the Grand Duke's strategy of retreat fluctuates, according to different estimates, between 6 and 12 millions. The tremendous flood of fugitives and exiles has at last burst the iron hoop within which the Jews of Russia were enclosed. When all country-roads were crowded with immense swarms of homeless Jewish "fugitives," when thousands encamped under the sky and brought distress and disease into the cities, when countless freight-trains with banished Jews, locked and sealed, were sent about from one place to the other, not allowed by the Governors to "unload their goods," and shunted upon sidings for weeks, when all these events just behind the front developed into a military calamity too, the Russian Government at last resolved, not, indeed, to abolish the prison of the Pale of Settlement, but to extend it. The human and natural right of liberty of movement was by no means conceded to the Jews: the Pale was simply enlarged. The air of Petrograd and Moscow, of the Cossack region of the Don or of the residences of the Tsar, may not be breathed by the Jew any more than before. The villages too, the land proper, remain a forbidden area for the Jews, who may dwell only within the walls of cities.

Such are the terms of the Ministerial decree. It is certain, however, that the "grace" manifested by the Tsar's Government will hardly have an opportunity of being converted entirely into practice. The Governors do not conceal their opposition to the

decree, and by their local regulations they make it actually ineffective. Moreover, the lower representatives of the bureaucracy openly declare that they will not give up so soon the struggle with the authorities, who, through a sudden attack of "Liberalism," deprived them of the inexhaustible source of revenue provided by Jewish disabilities. At the present moment the wandering Jews, who, relying upon the announced "Reform," wished to take up their residence in Russian cities, are exposed to the same hardships and humiliations as before. The expulsions continue incessantly, and not even wounded Jewish soldiers are spared. And all this—several weeks after the alleged "abolition of the Pale."

Scarcely had this great "Reform," this peculiar emancipation of the Jews, been announced, than emissaries of the Russian Government were already knocking at the doors of the Jewish "haute finance" in London and New York in order to demand their reward in the form of a loan for the magnanimous friendship shown towards the Jews. The meaning of the mysterious conferences of the Russo-American Committee with the Russian Ministers about Jewish rights, as well as the telegrams of M. Vischnegradsky to powerful Jewish financiers in London became clear. Wide-spread famine, disease, moral depravity in its most vicious forms, one and a half million Jewish women, girls, children, and greybeards in the deepest distress, almost on the verge of death, abandoned to the private charity of the Jewish relief-committees (the subvention of the Government amounted to merely 500,000 roubles) hundreds of Jewish townlets destroyed, thousands of Jews victims of the bestiality of an unbridled soldiery—all this did not succeed in making the Russian authorities waver in their principles. But the need of money, the possibility of wheedling a few milliards with the help of the Jewish "haute finance," dispelled all doubts: Russia was opened to the "Jewish invasion." Never has a Government with pretensions to European civilization bartered more openly with human rights.

It was always a mark of the political maturity of the Russian Jews, that they knew how to distinguish between the myrmidons of the Tsar and the Russian people. Despite the streams of blood that flowed between the Jews and the Russian "people in arms," the hatred, not only of the Jewish democracy, but of the entire Jewish people is directed solely and singly against the small but powerful group, which has placed a vast Empire and its own people into chains of intellectual, political, and social bondage, and handed them over to the "powers of darkness." We know that we have faithful allies and fighting comrades in the class-conscious Socialistic proletarians as well as in the radical, land-hungry peasants of Russia. The courageous intervention of the Social Democracy and the Labor Party in the Duma on behalf of the honor of Jewry have found a grateful echo among the entire Jewish people. The really touching and noble manner in which the intellectual flower of the Russian people, gathered around that distinguished trio—Andreieff, Gorki, Korolenko—made the cause of the Jewish nation the cause of liberty-loving Russia, was a consolation to us in the hour of deepest humiliation.

We cannot undertake here to lay bare the radical causes of the Jewish disabilities in Russia. For such a task, it would be necessary to examine the foundations of the entire Russian State organism and of the national questions of this Empire. It must be observed, however, in order to prevent misunderstandings, that the Jewish question in Russia is not a form of religious persecution. The Jewish faith, the various religious tendencies and rites, public worship, and religious education, have always received the most generous toleration in Russia. The Jew is denied his rights, not as a member of a particular religious community, but as a member of a particular race. The legal restrictions against Jews have recently been extended with increasing severity also against baptised Jews. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that the Russian Government has suppressed in the Jewish communities not only every expression of revolutionary and Socialistic opinion, but also every attempt at nationalist propaganda and national organization. It is significant that the reason given by the police for harassing the national movement among the Jewish masses is that it furthers "national separatism" and sows "discord among the races." The oppression of the Jews in Russia is simply the denial of national rights to a race, carried to the most extreme degree of senseless cruelty. We shall have an opportunity later of showing that there is a close connection between the two forms of disabilities—the civil and the national.

ROUMANIA.

The Russo-Jewish question was by no means discovered through the war. The principle of human rights, of equality before the law, is so deeply rooted in the consciousness of civilized nations that the civil disabilities of the Jews in Russia were known before too. The same doubtful advantage is enjoyed by the Jews of the neighboring land or Roumania. The state of outlawry to which the latter are condemned is a flagrant breach of the Berlin Treaty. Roumania has cynically ignored her pledge made to the Great Powers, and thus, though the lot of the Roumanian Jews is occasionally discussed in Parliament, not a single Government ventures to demand that they shall be given their rights. The Roumanian Government scorns to follow the Russian example of issuing exceptional laws against its own citizens. It has therefore not admitted the Jews at all into the Roumanian body politic, but declared them to be "aliens," who are subject to exceptional regulations, which are added to every law as restrictive stipulations and are intended to make life for the "aliens" in the country economically impossible. But the Jewish "aliens" enjoy the privilege of having to discharge their military duty in the Roumanian army. When, in the course of the present war, the Roumanian army was got into readiness, the Jews were, of course, mobilized together with all Roumanians. But before Roumania has even decided to take part in the war, the Jews have been expelled, in Russian fashion, from all villages on the Hungarian frontier, which is apparently regarded as a possible front, and removed to the interior of the country.

THE DENIAL OF NATIONAL RIGHTS.

The denial of civil, nay, of the most primitive human rights, to the Jews of Russia and Roumania has become ominous for the Jews of the whole world, because it has engendered the habit of admitting the existence of a Jewish question only in countries where the Jews as individual citizens are subjected to disabilities and persecution. The legal inequality of the Jewish people is a conception hardly yet known; but there is, nevertheless a Jewish question even in the countries with civil equality guaranteed by the constitution. By this we do not mean the social disabilities which continued everywhere even after the civil emancipation in Western Europe, or the exclusion of the Jews from certain honors and offices, or the survival and occasional outbreaks of mediæval prejudice, which made possible a Dreyfus affair in France, the judicial murder of a Hilsner in Austria, and the tragic death of a Leo Frank in America. Although we fully appreciate the symptomatic significance of these episodes, the social grievances of the Jewish citizens of Western Europe concern the national interests of Jewry too little to occupy us any further here. We have principally in mind the position of the Jews in such countries as Austria and Hungary, where, in the midst of civil equality, the existence of the Jews as a national community is being undermined. Now in a State composed of various nationalities, as the history of empires without uniform nationality emphatically teaches, civil rights without guarantees for national minorities are illusory. Hence the denial of the national equality of the Jewish people ultimately leads to the restriction or abolition of civil political equality. We can examine these phenomena very clearly in that part of Austria in which the Jewish masses are thickly settled, namely in Galicia and the Bukowina.

A U S T R I A . It was in these regions that the Austrian Jews first took part in the national conflicts in the Dual Monarchy, for there nearly a million Jews are concentrated, who have preserved their national characteristics and uniformity. The peculiar position of the Jews in this State is significantly illustrated by the fact that the Austrian Government statistics fail to give any indication that the Jews speak a language of their own. The Jews are not regarded as a nation in the sense of the Austrian Constitution, and the Yiddish language, although it is spoken there by a million souls may not be registered as the vernacular in the census statistics. Those who speak Yiddish in the United States are recorded in the statistics of the Government, and the same applies to those who speak it in Russia. But in Austria the Jews have yet to fight for recognition of the simple fact that they exist.

The Jews have been declared to be merely a religious community and are regarded as members of alien nations. This disregard of the first principle of national toleration,—the right to a free assertion of nationality—has rendered the position of the Jews somewhat spurious, as they serve to augment the numerical strength of the ruling nationalities. Before the year 1867 the overwhelming majority of the Hungarian Jews

apparently spoke German. But immediately after the Dualistic compromise and the creation of the Hungarian state 800,000 Hungarian Jews began of their own accord to speak the Magyar tongue. In the Bukowina the Jews strengthen the German element, and in Galicia the Jews serve to secure the Polish rulers the majority in a country in which Poles and Ukrainians are almost equally balanced. The denial of the existence of a Jewish people in Austria is thus perpetuated, with the authority of the State. The Jews have been reduced, against their own will, to a political appendage of ruling groups, a mere tool for securing national majorities and exercising oppression. They dare not manifest national neutrality by asserting their own nationality and safeguarding its vital interests; nor can they hold aloof from the conflicts between Germans and Czechs, Magyars and Roumanians, Poles and Ruthenians. They are assigned by force to the stronger nation.

This policy of deception has been applied at election times in such a manner as to deprive the Jewish voters of their rights. In order that the Jews should not use their suffrage in a manner determined by their own interests, the Polish "Schlachta," or landed nobility, in Galicia, has always taken care to avoid as much as possible electoral constituencies with a Jewish majority. The so-called "electoral geometry" Jews with all the more success, as their dismemberment, despite their concentration in the towns, condemns them almost everywhere to be a minority. The embitterment of political elections by national conflicts led in Austria to the endeavor to form electoral groups of uniform nationality. Thus, when the electoral reform for the Galician Diet was introduced in 1913, national electoral bodies were formed, but for Poles and Ruthenians. The Jews were not even given the option of entering themselves upon electoral groups of uniform nationality. Thus, when the electoral reform for the Galician Diet was introduced in 1913, national electoral bodies were formed, but only for Poles and Ruthenians. The Jews were not even given the option of entering themselves upon the register of either the one or the other body. The 850,000 Jews of Galicia were simply forced into the Polish electoral group, where they form an insignificant minority; and thus the constitutional suffrage of the Jewish citizens was actually rendered worthless. When the Bukowina Diet in 1910, on the occasion of the formation of national electoral bodies, resolved to create a Jewish electoral body too, the attempt to secure the recognition of the Jewish nation was frustrated by the objection of the Vienna Government, which was urged to oppose it by the assimilationist plutocracy of Viennese Jewry. The Jews were forced into the German electoral body.

The most serious consequences of this systematic policy of denationalization naturally occur in the cultural sphere. The Jews do not possess a national school. A direct consequence of the non-recognition of the language of the Jewish people was the loss of the right to be educated in the mother-tongue. The Jewish youth is forcibly assimilated in German, Polish, and Magyar schools; it is alienated from the Jewish national spirit; it loses all contact with the national traditions, with the treasures of Jewish culture created through the centuries; and it is neither acquainted with the intellectual life of its people nor with the modern literary products in the Yiddish

language. There are no Government Jewish schools; the Jews must maintain their national educational institutions out of their own resources, whilst with their taxes schools of alien nationalities are founded and financed. The Jews are thus prevented from combining their espousal of modern culture with the fostering of their own national culture. The passive toleration of the religious schools of the strictly orthodox Jews, which are mostly of a retrograde character, leads simply to the abrogation of compulsory school attendance for the Jews of Galicia and the Bulkowina. The dissolution of the intellectual bonds in Jewry is thus accompanied by the breeding of ignorance and religious fanaticism.

Whatever sphere of Government or national life we may examine, we encounter everywhere instances of national degradation caused by the denial of national rights. Deeds or documents written in Yiddish or Hebrew have no legal validity. The Jew cannot seek justice in his mother tongue. Under the pretext that Jewish demands are religious, the Jews are excluded from the civil service, as the appointments to this service are determined not by religious but by national political considerations, which do not apply in the case of Jews.

TENDENCIES OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

It hardly needs to be emphasized that the political dependence and intellectual stagnation of Gallician Jewry are concomitant phenomena of their economic disintegration. The economic situation of Austrian Jewry presents an almost perfect parallel to the conditions of Russian Jewry, a proof of the important fact, that the economic situation and development of the Jews are almost independent of the political conditions of their homelands. The rise of capitalism found the Jews in both countries in a peculiar economic position. The almost complete divorce from productive industries, the lack of a Jewish peasantry, and the flourishing of petty handicrafts and retail trading give a peculiar character to the economic structure of East European Jewry. This economic detachment of a people engaged in industries and trade in an agrarian State, leads, in this age of capitalism, to a gradual or rapid decline of the Jewish middle classes, especially to an elimination of the artisans and their workers. The transition to wholesale manufactures caused the Jewish artisans to become more and more dependent, increased the insecurity of existence and the effect of periods of stagnation, but did not enable the Jewish proletarian masses to enter the higher developed branches of production. Whilst the backward petty industries, owing to their powers of endurance, tried to resist the victorious advance of capitalism, the latter developed an army of landless peasants torn from the soil into wage-proletarians. When the powerful influx from the land into the industrial centres is once in motion, the Jewish masses in search of work find the way barred to the modern branches of industry, upon which the power and the future of the proletariat rest. This elimination of the Jewish proletarian masses in the centres of wholesale manufacture can be observed within the Russian Pale of Settlement, in South Russia and Poland. In Austria we actually find that West Austria, which is industrially developed, has by no means attracted the impoverished Jewish

masses from the adjacent region of Galicia. The Jews, despite their legal freedom of movement, have remained massed together in their old Galician zone of settlement.

The peculiar economic situation of the Jews has become intensified by their concentration in particular branches of industry. The Jewish working masses have remained confined almost exclusively to the industries of consumption that have been least affected by the change of organization. Of nearly two million Jews in Russia who are engaged in handicrafts and manufactures, the greater half are dependent upon the clothing and food industries; of 350,000 in Austria, almost two-thirds. Whilst the decline of these branches of production threatens to undermine the position of the Jewish masses crowded in them, the retail trade is rapidly declining in consequence of the development of the co-operative system in the country. Thus, the entire economic life of Jewry has been reduced to a condition of unstable equilibrium.

The forces of displacement to which the Jews have been subjected have brought about a redistribution of occupations. In the first place, there is an enormous Jewish emigration which causes the centre of gravity of Jewish national life to be transplanted to new countries. The economic disturbance has been so great that in the course of the last thirty years a community of 2½ million East European Jews has arisen in the United States alone, quite apart from several hundred thousands in Western Europe, Argentine, and Palestine. Of these emigrants 60 per cent are manual laborers who had become superfluous and proletarianized artisans, who have created America's magnificent clothing industry (the so-called Jewish needle industries). At the same time a process of productivity is going on in the old Jewish homelands—an internal migration to the large cities and an incessant transition from trading to manual crafts and manufactures. In their endeavors of economic adaptation the working Jewish masses are left to themselves, whereas it should be the task of national bodies with self-government to organize measures of social care upon a systematic basis. The national disorganization renders impossible the settlement of these peculiar problems in the life of the people, and the economic decline practically amounts to a collapse characterized mainly by the rise of a disproportionately numerous proletariat of vagabonds.

It must also not be forgotten that the peculiar political position of the Jews in civil life is influenced by traditional anti-Semitic prejudices and Ghetto reminiscences. An investigation into the distress of Galician Jewry, decided upon by the Galician Diet and carried out by the Government in January 1911, provided absolute confirmation of the foregoing facts, although the members of the Commission of Inquiry were mostly wealthy Jews animated by the most ardent devotion to the Government. The only complaints, advanced rather reluctantly and sparingly, were as follows: Jewish candidates for teachers' positions receive no appointments in schools, Jewish lawyers are barred from the career of judges and civil servants, and no Jew has access to any public position. The law of Sunday rest is abused for the purpose of ruining Jewish dealers, artisans, and workmen who rest on the Sabbath. The Polish trade co-operative associations, credit societies, guilds, and other professional organizations of the middle class refuse to accept Jewish artisans as members, whilst co-operative societies of all

kinds are continually displacing Jewish trade. These various organizations receive the most generous encouragement and financial support of the Diet, whereas the Jewish economic and intellectual organizations have to be content with mere fragments that stand in absolutely no relation either to the numbers of the Jews or to the tax-revenue which they provide. And as though it were not enough that economic progress militate against the welfare of the Jewish masses employed as artisans or petty traders, the "asemitic" administration of the autonomous local authorities has created special regulations and illegalities that have increased the proletarianization of the middle class, and caused the degradation of the proletariat and of the educated class to amount almost to a catastrophe. These facts, ascertained by an official inquiry, need no comment. They show how Galician, in the midst of civil equality, has become for the Jews a classic land of political impotence, intellectual stagnation, and economic disruption and degradation.

The tendencies making for the disabilities of Jewry have manifested themselves in the war, too. The Jewish fugitives from Galicia, whose sons, at the peril of their lives, protected Hungary from the Russian invasion, were expelled in thousands from Hungary as aliens. An attempt was made even in Vienna and other places to stem the influx of Jewish fugitives, and as though the authorities had nothing more serious to occupy their attention they forbade the Jewish lawyers from Galicia to practise their profession in Vienna.

In the districts of Russian Poland occupied by the Austrians all the restrictions against the Jews in Russia have been maintained. The pretext advanced by the leading officials, who are mostly Poles, is the Hague Convention concerning the administration of law in occupied districts, although the Convention does not prevent the Government from adopting administrative measures of a rather radical nature. Thus the tobacco monopoly was introduced, whereby thousands of Jews were reduced to starvation. Despite all the promises announced by the Central Allies, the Jews in the Austrian section of administration are subjected to much higher contributions than the rest of the population, and they are also obliged to render other services in a disproportionately high degree. Finally, an order that has become known concerning the conditions of appointment for teachers in the occupied district shows that the anti-Jewish method of administration is continued even during the war.

IV

POLES AND JEWS

It is impossible to speak of the national humiliation of the Jews of Austria, and especially of Galicia, without discussing in some detail the relation of the Polish people to the Jewish national problem.

About three million Jews live on Polish soil, or, to be more accurate, within the social and political sphere of Polish influence. The Jews and the Poles have lived as neighbors for nearly seven hundred years, and although their relations have not been

unclouded they were founded upon a community of economic interests, which made an understanding between the two peoples necessary and possible. The Jews were a trading and industrial stratum in a purely agrarian state. They were, partly in conjunction with the Germans, the builders of Poland's cities, the first and, for centuries, the only practitioners of trade and handicrafts in the Polish-Lithuanian dominion. The Polish statesmen were, despite the counter-influences of the church, so convinced of the indispensability of the Jews that they endowed them with a peculiar constitutional status as a nation. We may describe this status as national autonomy in the midst of civil legal restrictions. The Jews were no full-fledged citizens of the Polish municipalities and of the State, but they were assured freedom of economic activity and likewise protection against legal abuses. Moreover, the Jews of Poland, within their national autonomous communities, which formed a sort of Confederacy with a national chamber at the head ("Vaad arba haarazoth"—Council of Four Lands), had the right to dispense law according to the Jewish code and enjoyed autonomy in the matter of taxation, freedom in national intellectual activity, and self-administration in all national affairs. The rights of a national minority thus granted to Polish-Lithuanian Jewry enabled this nucleus of the Jewish people to preserve its national cohesion and culture. The Jews manifested their gratitude to the Polish people for the respect thus shown to their rights by taking an active part in the death-struggle of the Polish State and in the sanguinary attempts at its restoration.

The world war, which has advanced into the sphere of political possibilities a regeneration of Poland and a reunion of the dismembered nation, has produced a strange spectacle. Poles and Jews, the neighbor nations that have been tried most sorely and injured most grievously by the war, are by no means united in a common struggle. Their mutual relations are marked by alienation and open hostilities. After events of people. The baseless and senseless charge that the Jews, by protesting against the recent occurrence the Jews are looking forward with distrust and anxiety to their future in a free, self-governed Poland.

The Polish public regards every attempt at a frank discussion of the Polish-Jewish question as an attack upon the national hopes and aspirations of the Polish anti-Semitic agitation of the Poles, are trying to repress the sympathies of the civilized world for the struggle of the Polish nation for liberty, must be emphatically repudiated.

The attitude of the Jewish democracy towards the Polish cause has not changed. We appreciate the greatness of the sufferings of the Polish people; we can fully understand their position as an oppressed and dismembered nation; and we are following with profound sympathy the struggle for their reunion and their liberty. The Jews have even regarded the fulfilment of the longing of generations of Polish fighters for freedom as a dictate of justice and a demand of European democracy. The Jewish press and the Jewish Socialist and bourgeois organizations have repeatedly taken occasion to give expression to these convictions of Jewry. It must be observed, however, that the experiences of the last few decades have taught the Jews, that a free Poland is quite compatible with the national bondage of the Jews in the country. For the political

destinies of the Polish people and the economic development of the land have produced during the last few decades a radical alteration in the attitude of the Polish world towards the Jewish question.

Dismembered, humiliated, and oppressed, all sections of the Polish people have combined in the silent resolve to work for the rehabilitation of their national independence. The idea of the national state, which determined the political development of Europe in the nineteenth century, fell upon no more fruitful soil than in Poland. But even the best and most advanced sections of the Polish community applied this idea to their country in a purely stereotyped manner, without seeking to adapt it to the historic conditions of the country. They have overlooked the fact that the union of all Poles in a state of their own cannot be effected in a uni-national state but in a poly-national state. For within the historic frontiers of the Polish state there live not only Poles but also Ukrainians and Lithuanians, Jews and Germans. It is due to the national sentiment, injured through decades of oppression and raised to the degree of Chauvinism, and above all, to the decisive influence of the "Schlachta" upon Polish national policy, that the Polish people has paid little attention to the idea of a just compromise with the national minorities of Poland. On the contrary, the Polish policy, especially in autonomous Galicia—the "Polish Piedmont" has shown the tendency of securing by force the supremacy of the Polish spirit. The Polish aspirations of national emancipation were influenced in a high degree by the ideas of the dominating classes, who undertook the lead in this struggle—namely, the "Schlachta" and the pushing middle-classes of the towns. Among no people is the landed nobility so numerous, nor has it exercised so profound an influence upon social life and national outlook as the "Schlachta" has succeeded in doing among the Poles. The nobility of Poland blended the national ideal of emancipation with legal conceptions, and even as early as the insurrection of 1863 it not only aimed at liberating from the foreign yoke the regions largely occupied by the Poles, but also raised legal claims to Lithuania and the Ukraine, which were formerly parts of the Polish Kingdom and are for the most part still tributary to-day to Polish landowners. That these feudal conceptions, as they may be termed, still live in the national ideology of the Poles, is shown by the Manifesto of the Supreme Polish National Committee of August 8, 1915, in which the union of undivided Congress Poland with undivided Galicia is demanded.

It is not our task to point out the contradictions between the aspirations for a Greater Poland and the idea of a national state. We do not wish to maintain that the Polish people, who has been struggling more than a century for its national self-preservation and self-government, does not appreciate the rights of self-determination desired by other nationalities that inhabit Poland. It is futile to express any presumptions now concerning the development of the relative power of different nations in the Poland of the future. Galicia must not form a model of Polish self-government. We have confidence in the economic advance and the growing national consciousness of the national minorities, and likewise in the increasing strength of the democracy of the workers in the Polish people itself.

It must be pointed out, however, that the idea of the national state among all classes of the Polish population—from the conservative “Schlachta” to the Socialistic parties—is associated with the idea of the national dissolution of Polish Jewry. The glorious traditions of independent Poland which granted the Jews security of national development are forgotten. The Polish people, jealous of its undisputed domination of Polish territory, perceives in the continued existence of a Jewish minority of about three millions a danger to a free Poland. The Polish political organizations declare themselves ready to grant the Jews civil rights, but these are coupled, openly or secretly, with the condition of assimilation of unreserved national amalgamation with their Polish environment. There can naturally be different views about the future of the Jews in Poland, just as of those in other countries. We do not wish to analyze here the erroneous view that the Jews being economically dependent upon their adopted countries and territorially scattered, their national culture is doomed to decay and death. Such a view is based upon deceptive analogies with the Jewish minorities of Western Europe and ignorance of the forces at work in the life of the Jewish masses, although it is shared by some sociologists who are otherwise to be regarded seriously. The Polish parties, however, do not regard the shedding by the Jews of their nationality as the result of a long, historic process. They demand the surrender of the Jewish nationality; they insist upon assimilation to the Polish world; they claim the Jews for themselves, as the example of Galicia shows, against the declared will of the masses, and that also in regions such as the Ukrain Eastern Galicia, of the Lithuanian Niemen district, where the Poles themselves form a minority.

History can hardly provide a parallel to such utter lack of sympathy on the part of an oppressed nation with the desperate struggle for existence of another persecuted people. With cynical brutality, unconcerned about the principle that every nation should have the right to determine its own fate, the entire Polish world, from the nobility to the Social Democracy, pronounces the death-sentence upon the Jewish people and recognizes as the sole object of its existence its absorption by the Polish nation, so as to secure for the latter the predominance in the nationally “threatened” parts of Poland. The contempt that has always been openly manifested by the “Schlachta” for Jewish customs and culture is accompanied now by an undisguised aversion and hatred for every expression of the Jewish national consciousness, every attempt at organization upon a national basis. So firmly determined is the Polish community to throttle the Jewish people as a nation, that in its fight against our national rights, it does not recoil even at the repeal of elementary civil rights.

The Polish Social Democracy of Galicia also always speaks of only two nations inhabiting the country—the Poles and the Ukrainians. It was silent when the Austrian census in 1910 was, to use the expression of the Czech Social Democrat Winter, converted into a European scandal, and thousands of Jews in Galicia were sentenced to fines and imprisonment because they manifested their loyalty to the Jewish mother-tongue. It uttered no word of protest when, upon the division of the voters to the Galician Diet, the Jews were forced into the Polish electoral body. It opposed the

demand for Jewish schools and Jewish autonomy in Austria or even for a national rehabilitation of the Jews upon their own soil as "confessional" reaction and nationalistic presumption. No wonder that the "Schlachta" and the middle class went a step further and created for the Jews of Galicia the anomalous position that we have described above. The Polish bourgeoisie in Russian Poland also did not feel bound by the externalities of "equal human rights," for upon the introduction of municipal autonomy in Poland it readily allied itself with the Russian reaction and voted in the Duma for limiting the number of Jews on the municipal councils to from 10 to 20 per cent., even in towns with an absolute Jewish majority.

The strongest impetus in the fight against the Jews was the accentuation of economic differences. Even at the time when Poland was an independent kingdom the Jews had in the city guilds and corporations of the Polish middle class embittered opponents, but these were not numerous. It was capitalism that first called into being a Polish bourgeoisie of trade and industry, which feels keenly the competition of the Jewish middle class. We have seen how this bourgeoisie in Galicia, in union with the representatives of the liberal professions, who wish to secure for themselves sole access to public offices, and in conjunction with the peasants' cooperative associations for consumption and sales, is systematically pursuing the economic elimination of the Jews. In Russian Poland the promoters of this policy of displacement have given out as their watchword the nationalization (that is, Polonization) of industry, trade and credit, and invoked in their service the political organizations of the middle class and of the farmers. They have ingeniously exploited the growing political tension between the Poles, who suddenly discovered to their astonishment that the Jews do not become assimilated at all, and those Jews whose national consciousness was aroused, in order to convert the competitive struggle into a national crusade against the Jews. It is significant of the nature of the Polish agitation against the Jews that the well-known boycott against them was proclaimed after the Duma elections, when the Jewish electorate of Warsaw manifested its political independence and maturity by deciding against the anti-Semitic candidate of the middle class and in favor of the Polish Social Democrat. The lust for power and the intolerance of the "Schlachta," the disregard of the rights of others, the envy of capitalistic competition and the thirst for profit, all united in faithful alliance for the purpose of raising a storm of hatred and antagonism against the Jews the like of which can hardly be surpassed even in Russia. The Russian reaction has found in the once revolutionary Poland its most willing ally: the seeds of Jew-hatred have yielded the most poisonous plants. During the Bellis Affair almost the entire Polish press, with the exception of the Socialists, stood in the service of the "ritual murder" agitators; the social boycott and anti-Semitism in the schools assumed repulsive forms; the Russian method of imposing civil disabilities was adopted by the Poles in their communal reform; and the economic boycott, which attained undreamt-of dimensions, set itself the task of reducing to starvation and exile two millions Jews who during a period of seven hundred years had developed the urban trades of Poland to a state of prosperity.

There is no need to point out that the campaign carried on with all the resources of social organization against the Jewish producers, also undermined the economic position of the Jewish working class. The Jewish proletariat remained for the most part crowded in the backward branches of industry, in which the tool and the hand-machine predominate, and which are exclusively in Jewish hands. Thus, the boycott must lead in the end to a precipitated degradation of the Jewish proletariat, whilst it remains harmless for the Jewish upper middle class, which has either been absorbed by limited companies or is opposed merely by Polish workmen. Similarly, the unconditional submission in political and cultural respects demanded by the Poles met with the determined resistance of the Jewish working class, which, without distinction of party, rejects the ideas of assimilation as an unsocial and anti-cultural experiment.

In this state of combat Poles and Jews were overtaken by the world war, which converted the region inhabited by both nations into a scene of sanguinary battles. It was the general expectation of the Jewish people that the greatness of the moment, the relentless approach of historic crises, the promise of the coming salvation and of the fulfilment of a grand dream of the Polish people, would put an end to the ugly and bitter feud. But all friends of the regeneration of Poland must note with disappointment and astonishment that the proclamation of a better and brighter era for the Polish people, the heralding of their coming liberty, have been followed by a howl of rage, by a general campaign of denunciation, and by a merciless war of extermination against the Jews which is hardly inferior in treachery and cruelty to the Russian system of oppression. We may refer to the articles of Georg Brandes, who, until the catastrophe of the present war, held aloof from the sufferings and struggles of the Jewish people, but was always an enthusiastic friend of Poland, as well as to the declarations of our parties in Austria and Russia and of the "Bund." We may supplement these with the following facts: It was not only the Polish middle class press in Russian Poland that, with ceaseless fabrications, fed the legend that the Jews are traitorous friends of Germany and Austria. The National Democratic "Słowo Polskie" in Lemberg, during the Russian occupation, also agitated against the Galician Jews on account of their anti-Russian views! The whole of Congress Poland re-echoes with the complaints of the Jewish population against the Polish Citizens' Committees. These Committees were everywhere either without any Jewish members at all (e. g. in Warsaw with 300,000 Jews), or they co-opted a few Polonized representatives of the Jewish plutocracy. The Jewish grievancies are everywhere alike—the Jews receive unjust treatment in the distribution of relief; and as soon as a paid militia is introduced the Jews are forced out of it, and police oppression and even violent ill-treatment of the Jewish inhabitants are the order of the day. The Jewish schools must be Polonized or they receive no municipal grants. The supreme "Welfare Committee" of the Poles in the kingdom, the Central Citizens' Committee dissolved in September, followed the same principles: it had among its members no representatives either of the middle class or of the Jews; and of the many millions that reached it from all parts of Russia and from the Russian Government, for the alleviation of distress (without distinction of

religion or race), the Jews, who form 14 per cent. of the population of the country, have received less than 1 per cent., whilst at least 200,000 Jews have been driven from hearth and home. The Central Citizens' Committee uttered no word of protest against the countless tortures inflicted upon the "fugitives," but it cynically considered the idea of importing Polish shop-keepers from Canada to occupy the places of the Jews who had been driven away. Finally, the organ of the National Democrats unearthed the prohibition of the Yiddish and Hebrew languages in Poland and demanded the suspension of the entire Jewish press. The prohibition, which was actually issued, and the consequent silencing of a people of six millions, were welcomed with joy by the Warsaw Polish press.

"LITVAKI"

The spokesman of the Polish public, concerned about their good repute among the West European democracy, despite their descent into the paths of Russian reaction, endeavor in various ways to represent the fight against the Jews as a fight of self-defence forced upon them. It would lead us too far to analyze arguments of this kind which plainly bear the stamp of hypocrisy upon their face. Only one complaint must be mentioned here, because it occupies such an extensive place in Polish polemic literature, namely the question of the so-called "Litvaki" (Lithuanians). These Russo-Lithuanian Jews are supposed, during the last twenty years, according to a crafty scheme of the Russian Government, to have practically inundated Poland and to be active in a direction opposed to Polish national aspirations.

It sounds very radical to ascribe all mischief to the Russian authorities, but, in this case, undeserved political sagacity is attributed to them, which they by no means possess. The Lithuanian Jews migrate to Poland because this industrially flourishing region, which has, to a certain extent, developed into a workshop for the whole Russian Empire, naturally possesses a great power of attraction. How insincere is the talk of the Lithuanian invasion is evident from the simple fact, that the Lithuanian Jews form hardly 1½ per cent of the population of the country, and that the ratio of the Jewish to the total population of Poland has undergone no change during the last fifteen years. On the other hand, it is hardly disputed that the Lithuanian Jews contributed materially towards opening up the Russian markets for the Polish industries.

It is superfluous to discuss the alleged disintegrating influence of the Lithuanians, because the Polish contentions on this point widely differ and dispose of one another. In the Polish journals published in Vienna or Cracow the "Lithuanians" are the propagators of Russian culture. In the Warsaw Polish press they are described as the outposts of Germanization. And in the publications of the Polish Press Bureau in Paris both assertions, in the interest of caution, are made simultaneously. The fact is, that the Lithuanian Jews are influenced by German culture just as little as their Polish brethren; and their connection with Russian culture, so far as the mass is concerned, is just as close, or rather, just as remote, as the connection of the Polish Jews with Polish culture. The Lithuanian Jews stubbornly adhere to their national characteris-

tics, and have possibly contributed to strengthening the national consciousness of the Polish Jews too, and to making Warsaw a prominent centre of Jewish culture and literary activity. Not a single Russian newspaper in Poland owes its establishment to the alleged Russifying tendencies of the Lithuanian Jews. On the contrary, during the last few decades, there has arisen in Warsaw a daily press in the Yiddish and Hebrew languages, which has a circulation of half a million. This press has always treated the national aspirations and hopes of the Poles with the greatest respect and with genuine sympathy. All the accusations against the Lithuanian Jews, that they have in any way been responsible for acts of hostility against the Polish national movement, are simply malicious inventions without any shadow of a foundation.

Moreover, it is impossible to understand why the Lithuanian Jews are represented as aliens, who have no connection with the history and culture of Poland. Lithuania was for centuries a part of the Polish Republic, and Wilna, Grodno, Bialystok, etc., are claimed as Polish cities. Only the Jews of Lithuania are declared not to have anything in common, not only with Poles, but also with Polish Jews. It can surely be no good cause that is fought for with such sophistry.

The responsibility for the violation of justice, the stirring up of inhuman hatred, the dishonoring of the Polish name, rests with the Polish middle-class parties, who have aroused the suspicion that the Polish people wishes to found its liberty upon the disabilities and bondage of the Jews. But even the honorable Polish Democrats and Socialists have a share in the moral blame for these disgraceful conditions. The economic boycott—whether of the noiseless kind, as in Galicia, or of the violent kind, as in Russian Poland—the transplantation of the reactionary Russian methods of bestowed rights, the outrageous denunciations, the provocation to military pogroms, the participation of the Polish mob in plunderings and attacks upon Jews, the ignominious attitude of the Polish press—all this could flourish only in the atmosphere of falsehood created by assimilation. When the Jews are represented as an inferior people, devoid of culture, and doomed to decay; when the existence of a Jewish minority, nationally compact, and devoted to the preservation of its own specific qualities, is regarded as an obstacle to the national liberty of Poland and as a peril to its regeneration; when the Jews are silently deprived of the most elementary rights of nationhood, of language and school, even in a constitutional state; when every expression of Jewish feeling and national sentiment is declared to be a deathly sin against human progress and the future of Poland—then it is no wonder if the masses resort to self-help, if every natural feeling of justice towards the Jews is stifled, and bourgeois reaction harnesses the fury of Jew-hatred to its war-chariot. The Polish Democracy must bethink itself of the saying of Lassalle: "A democracy which did not recognize in the liberty which it demands for its own nationality, the inviolable necessity of according the same liberty to other nationalities also; a democracy which interpreted its nationality in the gloomy, barbarous, mediaeval exclusive sense of wishing to conquer and rule other nationalities, will very soon become itself the prey of a conqueror arising in its own midst, of a happy warrior!" . . .

We do not expect the "Schlachta" and the middle class to reflect on this consideration. But it should be the duty of the Polish Socialists in their relations with the Jews to observe the principle of the equality of national worth and national rights. For only an honorable national compromise with the Jewish people can remove the danger of Poland, in its struggle for liberty, being thrust into an internal conflict and being deprived of the foundation upon which its welfare reposes.

WORKING CLASS AND ASSIMILATION.

The violent policy of denationalization pursued by almost all Governments, even of oppressed nations, towards the Jews, would hardly be conceivable if a process of drift were not taking place within Jewry itself. Ever since the beginnings of the civil emancipation of the Jews the doctrine of assimilation has been preached, which represents the absorption of Jewry by the dominating national environment as the necessary and final phase of Jewish history. The idea of absorption was simply the expression of a process of dissolution, which, in countries with a relatively sparse Jewish population, set in with great rapidity, whilst in regions with a dense Jewish population it also operated, although more slowly, in the upper middle classes. The economic association with the ruling bourgeoisie and the acquisition of wealth resulted inevitably in destroying the cultural connection with the Jewish masses and with historic Judaism. The assimilation movement, without any reason, appealed to humanism and cosmopolitanism, for it was always quite imperialistic in manner and signified the adoption of the nationality of the middle class predominant in its economic sphere.

Thus, the social antithesis between the Jewish upper middle class, as well as the kindred circles of the educated and lower-middle classes, on the one hand, and the Jewish masses, on the other, has widened to an irreconcilable national conflict. The working masses of the Jewish people, engaged in a hard struggle for existence, remained untouched by this process of denationalization. Their peculiar economic position and professional composition have maintained the cultural compactness of national life; the masses have preserved their contact with the treasures of national culture accumulated through the centuries; the Jews have remained a national minority in a non-Jewish environment, united by common economic interests, a common history, common customs, language, and culture. Apart from these forces of isolation and displacement, Jewish life is also characterized by tendencies of dissolution and assimilation to the alien environment with its own economic and cultural organization; but these tendencies have remained confined to the upper strata of the bourgeoisie and the intellectual class.

We judge the assimilation movement without moral indignation. Just as Jews have the right of freely adhering to their own nation, so also have they the right of merging themselves into another national community. He who through education and culture feels alienated from the fortunes of the Jewish race, can draw the consequences. Assimilation, however, has become one of the most retrograde phenomena of Jewish life, because the assimilated Jews were not content merely to surrender their adhesion

to the Jewish nationality. They declared their personal fate to be the historically inevitable fate of the entire Jewish people. They preached the duty of assimilation. The Jewish upper middle class and kindred circles purchase their political and social emancipation by holding out the prospect of the merging of the Jewish masses into the dominant nationality.

The natural corollary was that Jewry became a mere "religious community;" there arose Poles, Germans, Russians, Magyars, Englishmen, etc. of the "Mosaic persuasion;" Jewish national culture shrank to an academic "Science of Judaism;" Hebrew was stigmatized as a jargon.

The "attachment to the national culture" of the dominant environment became an object of the special care of the Jewish plutocracy. The fostering of Jewish culture in Jewish schools was, on the one hand, prevented by the authority of the State, and, on the other, denounced as religious retrogression. The advocates of assimilation secured control of Jewish organizations and communities, which they built up on an anti-popular suffrage, and thus wrested for themselves the sole representation of Jewry. The Jewish masses were handed over to the assimilated plutocracy with the understanding that the latter would make them the pliant appendage of the ruling classes. As a matter of fact, the promoters of assimilation allied themselves with the most retrograde elements in Jewry, and furthered the stultification of the masses by "Wonder Rabbis" and other sinister powers in order to reduce with their aid the Jews to a mere political tool of the Polish "Schlachta," the Magyar magnates, the German wholesale manufacturers, in short, of the ruling powers.

Thus, although assimilation in the various countries pursues other "national" aims, the fact, which has hitherto received insufficient attention, must not be overlooked, that it follows general internal laws, which make it a normal factor of Jewish life. The Jewish plutocracy of the various countries is united not only by a community of ideas, but also by kindred social activity in many spheres of Jewish life, as well as by international relations of an organized nature. Consider the so-called "great Jewish organizations," or, more correctly, the organizations of the great Jews, be it the "Alliance Israelite Universelle" in Paris, or the "Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden" in Berlin, the Anglo-Jewish Association in London, or the American Jewish Committee in New York, the "Israelitische Allianz" in Vienna or the Jewish communal leaders in Warsaw and Petrograd—everywhere we meet with the same tendencies: philanthropy and the breeding of dependent recipients of alms, instead of social self-help; charity and a policy of dispersion in emigration instead of social regulation and productive, nationally conserving concentration; representation and political tutelage of Jewry by self-appointed plutocratic cliques that escape popular control; national disintegration in all countries, opposition to all recognition of the Jewish nationality, to every form of Jewish self-government upon a national basis. There is, indeed, an international group of Jewish plutocrats, who even try to make political capital at home of their position in the Jewish world. They do not represent the world-wide solidarity of Jewry, however,

but the uniformity of the conflict between the masses and our upper middle class in all countries.

Assimilation has become the most terrible obstacle in the path of the intellectual, economic and political progress of the Jewish masses. Its domination signifies intellectual vegetation, the prevention of economic self-help and productivity, the degradation of the Jews to a mere tool of political and national oppression. The assimilated plutocracy and educated class poison the relations of the Jews to their neighbors, deceive the public by denying the existence of a people awakened to a new life, and make the forcible assimilation of the Jewish minorities a factor in the policy of almost all Governments and ruling classes. Hence the Jewish labor movement during the last few decades was not only a development towards Socialism, but, in its recognition of the peculiar social and national tasks of the Jewish proletariat, it offered ever increasing resistance to the tendency of assimilation, which, despite its progressive note, has a hostile and stultifying influence upon the people. Its fateful effects may be discerned in the life of the Jews of all countries included in our survey.

VI

TURKEY AND THE JEWS.

The ideas of assimilation have also had a pernicious influence in the Ottoman Empire, which, since the Revolution of the Young Turks, is undergoing a process of modernization and rejuvenation. Turkey is not inhabited by such dense Jewish masses as Russia, Poland, and Austria-Hungary, but, with her population of half a million Jews, who enjoy civil and, to a certain extent, national equality, she occupies an important place in the life of the Jewish people. The relation of this belligerent country to the Jews is particularly of importance, because it includes among its provinces a land with the relatively densest population, which, moreover, occupies a special place in the Jewish consciousness. We mean Palestine, which has upwards of 100,000 Jews and contains the beginnings of a systematic Jewish colonization. The Jews are wont to follow the destinies of Turkey with a feeling of gratitude and sympathy, for she hospitably opened her portals to the banished Jews from Spain and granted them so far as it was compatible with the Koran and the former absolutist regime, equality before the law and the same national privileges that were also enjoyed by the other nations of the Ottoman Empire. The national legislature of Turkey is based, it is true, upon the autonomy of the religious communities; but it has endowed the Jewish population also with the right of self-determination in the affairs of the national community and the school, as well as with a national Imperial organization and rights of self-government in internal affairs, which do not trespass upon the sovereign rights of the State. Discriminatory laws against the Jews were first enacted in 1890, when foreign Jews were first forbidden to immigrate and settle in Palestine. Since the first Jewish pogroms in Russia, in 1881, a thin stream of Jewish emigration has wended its way to Palestine, where the first Jewish agricultural settlements arose. Owing to fear of the capricious absolutism in

force the Jews adopted Ottoman citizenship only in small numbers, and thus fed the distrust of the Turkish Government, which scented in the Jews a tool of foreign—Russian—political influences. The Young Turkish founders of the constitutional era, which, to a certain extent, made a critical discussion possible, seem at first to have realized the groundlessness of such suspicions. To represent the Jews as friends and allies of the countries, which, owing to the lack of civil and national rights, they abandoned in the greatest bitterness, to ascribe to them the intention of furthering the ambitions of these Powers in Palestine—was indeed a figment born of pure ignorance. Nevertheless the war has exposed the Jews in Palestine to systematic persecution. This sudden and unfavorable turn of events would be inexplicable, but the attitude of the assimilated Jewish plutocracy of France and Germany in recent years throws a peculiar light upon the events in the country. For, by means of all sorts of public declarations and covert denunciations it has warned Turkey against the alleged dangers of a Jewish concentration in Palestine to its State interests. For years an open and subterranean battle has been carried on against the growth of an organized, productive Jewish settlement in and around Palestine. This forms merely a phase in the desperate struggle between the masses of the Jewish people and the anti-national Jewish upper classes.

PALESTINE AND THE JEWISH QUESTION.

Palestine owes its importance not to the hundred thousand Jewish inhabitants, even though they form nearly 20 per cent of the population, nor to the historical memories and traditions attaching to the country, but to its possibilities of development. The Jewish question, as we have already pointed out, is no purely national question. It is a complicated social problem which weighs down with its oppressive burden the working masses of the people. We owe to the works of Karl Renner and Otto Bauer that have laid down the principles of the Socialistic conception of the national question, the recognition of the fact that the struggle of the oppressed nations "without a history" is essentially a social struggle. It signifies, in cases where the struggle is not used to conceal a lust for power, a striving for democratic self-government, the advance of the "under dogs" of the nation to the position of collaborators in the cultural works of the people, the fight for unrestricted access to the treasures of human creation, which they work up in national forms, the struggle for the right of an autonomous solution of the social problems of the nation, "of the self-realization of the national spirit," as Lassalle would say. The social content of national conflicts is manifested with particular clearness in cases where the masses are opposed to a landlord or capitalistic class of alien nationality, as, for example, among the Letts, the Ukrainians, and partly also among the Czechs; or in cases where the middle class, through alliance with the ruling upper stratum, is nationally opposed to its "own" masses, as, apparently, among the Flemish, and to a certain extent among the Ukrainians in Russia. But the classic illustration is provided by the Jews. In such cases the national conflict is not only a political struggle for increase of power in the State, for seizing possession of its instruments of power. It is likewise a striving for the democratization

of the State, or a struggle for the land, or for the unrestricted development of national culture.

The Jewish question is primarily a result of such social antitheses engendered in the course of centuries. It is the question of the existence of a people, whose position among the nations and internal social structure are undeniably unique. It is territorially dispersed, intellectually menaced, politically impotent, and economically mutilated and isolated. Hence the fight for emancipation of the Jewish masses has a twofold object—to make Jewish life autonomous and productive. In all countries with a considerable Jewish population that is striving to preserve its national individuality, we are fighting for legal guarantees of national existence and national self-government. But the solution of the Jewish question, in its complete scope, can be brought about only by an alteration of the economic bases of national existence—by internal redistribution, the winning of the lost agrarian foundation, upon which a normally constituted economic community is built up, in which the Jewish working masses are secured access to all branches of production and the free development of all productive powers. The enormous Jewish emigration, caused by the destructive forces at work in Jewish economic life, which, in thirty years, has transplanted millions of Jewish proletarians from Eastern Europe to the west and across the sea, bears within itself the germs of this economic process of convalescence. The tendency to eliminate the economic Ghetto, in which the masses are confined, by transference to productive occupations, is evident in all countries inhabited by large numbers of Jews, especially in the lands of immigration. The organs of national self-government which we are trying to secure, will have to organize this process systematically and direct it; and it will attain to full development where the Jewish immigration is accompanied by the settlement and economic opening-up of an undeveloped territory.

Therein lies the significance of Palestine and of its neighboring regions for the fortunes of the Jewish people. In the colonization of the country by the Jewish working classes, in their connection with the soil, we see the beginning of a Jewish community of labor and culture, which is destined to become a centre of attraction for Jewish emigration and a place of free national development of a healthy people.

We have placed this territorial solution of the Jewish question, the creation of a Jewish community as self-contained as possible in Palestine and the adjacent regions, in the centre of the national programme of the Jewish Socialist movement. Our striving after this higher form of existence for the Jewish people, by establishing it in a region that forms the territorial and economic bridge between three continents, is in complete accord, we are fully convinced, with the colonizing tasks of Socialism. These must not by any means be confused with the "Socialistic colonial policy" advocated even by Social Democrats. The nature of colonial policy is the monopolist exploitation of a country, of its natural wealth and population, in favor of the mother country; and we see no possibility of reconciliation between this policy and the principles of Socialistic Democracy. On the other hand, there is a Socialistic colonization policy, which aims at opening up the vast neglected or still uncultivated regions of the

earth for human settlement and civilization and bringing them within the sphere of productivity of laboring humanity. This Socialistic policy of colonization is just as necessary as the intervention of the proletariat in the conditions of industrial production; it is a part of the task of Socialism in undertaking the organizing of the world and of international commerce. On the road towards this higher development lies also the Zionist (Palestinian territorial) solution of the Jewish question—the establishment of the wandering, working masses of the Jewish people in the old country with the help of the methods of modern labor and civilization.

The question of the solution of the Jewish problem formed the cause of radical differences and several schisms in the Jewish labor movement; but it may be said that the differences, which were once regarded as almost insurmountable, have lost their former acuteness. The assimilative tendencies in the yearly history of Jewish Socialism have been almost completely superseded: nearly all Jewish Socialistic organizations have adopted the solution of the Jewish question in their program, and that, too, in the direction of national self-determination and the securing of autonomous forms of national life. But whilst the so-called "Bundist" tendency of the Jewish labor movement recognizes in the present condition of dispersion the final word of Jewish history, the so-called "Poale Zionistic" (Socialistic Zionistic) tendency advocates the views outlined here of a radical alteration of the bases of our national existence. The American Jewish Working Men's Congress held in September, 1915, in New York, the first gathering of its kind of all branches of the Jewish proletarian movement of any country, shows that both tendencies of Jewish Socialism can agree upon the immediate demands and necessities of Jewish national life. The Congress did not share our views about the vital importance of the settlement of the Jewish masses in and around Palestine, but all Jewish Socialists united in the demand that the Jews should be assured the liberty of immigration and unrestricted settlement in that country, as well as the guarantees of national self-determination, which we demand for all countries with a dense Jewish population. By these resolutions of the Workmen's Conference of a country with the largest and best organized Jewish working class, which the Socialist party in the United States, in the exercise of real proletarian solidarity, has made its own, the legend was finally destroyed, that our conception of the Jewish question is incompatible with Socialistic views. It can and will be disputed, whether, in our historic perspective, we are assigning the right place to the territorial concentration of the wandering Jewish masses. But with the overthrow of the idea, prevalent for centuries that Socialism compels one to adopt an assimilative conception of the Jewish problem, the untenable thesis will also fall, that Socialism demands adhesion to the given forms of our national existence and forbids any reformation in the Zionist direction.

Although an understanding was possible within the Jewish working class and democracy concerning the immediate needs of national life, even the terrors of war could not remove the gulf yawning between the Jewish masses who are fighting for their national self-preservation and the assimilative plutocracy. The advocates of assimila-

tion always regarded a national concentration and rejuvenation in Palestine as a death-blow to their policy of national liquidation. They rightly fear that a Jewish community which enjoys free national development in and around Palestine can become a national power-centre for the Jews of other countries too, whose ultimate effects and reactions they are resolved in advance to paralyze. Thus, the strange phenomenon has arisen, that Jewish assimilators of various states, who deny that the Jews of these countries have a common destiny, who wish to be merely Germans, Frenchmen, Englishmen, Americans and so forth, have centred their zeal upon Palestine. To a certain extent, this colonizing impulse of our plutocracy is due to the wish to further the imperialistic policies of their respective Governments and thus to acquire importance in the sphere of foreign politics, after being unable to attain any position in home politics. On the other hand, their activity in Palestine is a fight for Palestine or, more properly, against a Jewish Palestine.

The unanimity that we have shown to exist in the views and actions of assimilative Jews in various countries becomes particularly manifest in the fight for Palestine. The assimilators of all West European countries are at pains to oppose systematic colonization and the promotion of economic self-help by a system of subventions and philanthropy, in order to have in Palestine economically dependent alms-receivers and not self-conscious Jews. The efforts to weld together the diverse elements of Jewry in Palestine into a social unit upon the basis of Jewish national culture meet with the strongest resistance of the advocates of assimilation, who transplant their national cultural and therewith their intellectual heterogeneity and real lack of culture, into the Jewish communities of Palestine. The endeavour was thus made, through French schools of the "Alliance," German schools of the "Hilfsverein de deutschen Juden," and English schools of the Anglo-Jewish Association, to import among the Jewish masses the same diversity of culture as pursued by the spiritual orders and "pioneers of civilization" of the European powers among the Arabs and in other colonial regions. The policy of philanthropy and the experiments in imperialistic culture also resulted in the political dismemberment of Jewry, the defective organization of the communities, and to a certain extent also in the non-adoption of Ottoman citizenship, and the loss by the Jews of their due political influence. But the fight of the plutocratic cliques was conducted not merely by means of internal disorganization. The Young Turks were inspired with hatred towards Jewish labor and Jewish life in Palestine, and the Jewish national aspirations were represented to them as dangerous to the State. In recent years not only has the not incomprehensible distrust of the authorities in Constantinople been invoked but the Arab landowners and the leaders of the Arabic national movement have also been plainly told that a Jewish immigration into Palestine would mean the "displacement" of the natives. The hostility of the advocates of assimilation is naturally directed especially against the working class. They not unjustly see their worst opponents in those without property, those who have become in Palestine pioneers of labor and of self-help, especially the Socialists (Poale-Zion) animated by class consciousness. In the few years of its existence our movement in Palestine can point to many a remarkable result. A class of Jewish agricultural laborers has been created,

and in the towns, too, the immigrant Jewish proletariat opened up new spheres of work. The trade union organization has made particular progress in the country, the agricultural laborers' associations have become legitimate representative of the Jewish working class, secured it a minimum wage corresponding to its higher standard of life (as compared with the simple Fella), founded co-operative societies and workingmen's clubs, and exercised a growing influence upon the course of the national work of colonization. The Socialistic spirit of the labor movement in Palestine expressed itself in various forms: in the irreconcilable opposition to the intellectual assimilation and political disintegration fostered by the Jewish magnates, in the suppression of the manifest tendencies to foist upon the colonization work based on labor elements of exploitation founded upon property, in the formation of labor co-operative societies for the exclusion of intermediaries, in urban and rural co-operative societies organized on modern lines, and finally, in the consistent advocacy of the ideas of collective ownership of land. No wonder that this laboring class, animated by such moral earnestness, by the consciousness of its national and social aims, by the spirit of Socialistic betterment, was already in peace times regarded by the assimilating pacemakers of "peaceful penetration" as a "revolutionary element," whose "pernicious activity" could not be scorned and denounced emphatically enough.*

The poisonous seed of lurking suspicion against skulking "Empire-destroyers" was bound to bear fruit in the war times. Thus, the past year has witnessed a change in the attitude of the Turkish authorities to the young Jewish settlement in Palestine. The Turkish Government has certainly not adopted the methods of persecution practised so ruthlessly in Russia. It even allowed alien Jews at the beginning of the war to become Ottoman citizens and to remain in the country. But we are not so modest as to pay a tribute of acknowledgement to Governments simply because they do not allow us either to be murdered or robbed.

An attempt is undeniably being made to "cleanse" Palestine of the most productive forces, of the intelligence and leading spirits of the labor movement, and that too at a time when the complete isolation of the country, the cessation of all exports and imports, the stopping of all urban and rural colonizing enterprises, and the stagnation of the money market, have caused a serious economic crisis and distressing unemployment in the undeveloped country. At such a juncture were persecutions instituted against all those who were most active in social self-help. As a variation from the Russian pattern, the new Jewish settlement in Palestine was accused of aiming at the separation

* See, for example, "Palestina und palastinensischer Zionismus" by Dr. Paul Nathan (Berlin 1913): "The arrogance, the presumption, the violence which that small circle in Palestine . . . ventures to display, are also practised upon the Mohammedans The result is friction and hostility, and a further result was the organization of a special corps of watchmen, which has already had small skirmishes with the Arabs, and thus every week there are Arabs shot and Jews murdered Parallel to the dangers in the country is the discontent caused by the Poale Zion particularly in the towns. The latter represent the most extreme economic views; they undermine the good relations between employees and employers, and thus seriously injure the economic development of the country." Controversy is superfluous.

of the country from the Turkish Empire. Such was the definite form of the accusation raised against the Socialists in Palestine, and based upon the programme of the party adopted by a Conference in 1910. Many have already been expelled, mostly those supposed to have taken part in this Party Conference; the organ of the Party, the weekly "Ha-Achduth" (Unity), in Jerusalem, has been stopped and the Party printing-press closed; three members of the editorial staff were each sentenced to two months' imprisonment and money fines, two were banished from the country whilst another was condemned to one year' imprisonment. The non-Socialistic Workmen's Organization in Palestine is also persecuted in a similar manner; and the Jewish intellectuals are likewise the victims of uninterrupted repressive measures. But when the Jews are systematically baited and humiliated, when the army and the Mohammedan population, inflamed by the Holy War propaganda, see the Jews treated as traitors, who can guarantee that nothing worse will happen?

It is unnecessary to refute the accusation raised particularly against our fellow-Socialists in Palestine. The programme of the Socialist party in that country justifies itself. It is no more aimed against the existence and the integrity of the Ottoman Empire than the demands of the Austrian Social Democracy in the national question, formulated in the Brunn programme, are designed to bring about the disruption of Austria. As a revolutionary party we have never hesitated to express our aims openly. We have professed Socialism in Russia and in Turkey at a time when this was by no means without danger. Our national ideal has above all a social-economic and national-cultural content. We do not recognize in the special status of the State the sole and decisive form of national sovereignty. Even in other States of composite nationality, like Russia and Austria, we have not urged that they must be dissolved into their national components. The States of composite nationality have for us as Socialists the important historic mission to prove in practice the possibility of various races living together in peace. The association of several peoples as a free union in a State organism is rather a step towards the international federation of nations than the dissolution of poly-national states into petty national states. This historic mission has to be fulfilled by the Ottoman Empire also, and it is by this spirit that the fundamental demands of our party in Palestine are animated. Moreover, it was under the influence of this idea that our Party, in 1912, signed the Manifesto of the Balkan Socialists against the war.

The Turkish Government, as ruler of the vast regions of Asia Minor, has also a second imperative task—to open up these neglected and depopulated districts to modern civilization. There can be no question here of the displacement of some section of the population from the thinly inhabited territory, but rather of a thickening of the population, of increased resistance through enhanced intensity and productivity of work, through accession of new labor forces. It is particularly the Jewish working masses, who, in Western Europe and America, at least in the early period, appear to the native workman as a menace to their livelihood, that come to Palestine and its adjacent countries not as under-bidders but as the representatives of more advanced

industrial methods, of a higher standard of life, and of better wages. Such an immigration is always an impetus to the promotion of culture.

Thus, Turkey, in addition to the problem of all poly-national States, to see that its peoples live together in the spirit of liberty and democratic self-determination, has also the historic duty of bringing nearer to a solution the great question of the opening-up of Asia Minor. Any Power that rules over this region which cries out for men, and construes its task in a narrow-minded anti-immigration spirit, not only opposes the national need of the Jewish masses, but also acts contrary to a necessity of humanity, and thus puts itself in contradiction to the bases of its own existence and exposes Asia Minor to the danger of remaining a happy hunting-ground of the imperialistic policy of spheres of influence. If the measures of the Syrian military authorities are animated by the intention of creating a permanent exceptional position for the Jews in Palestine, then a vital interest of our whole people is struck at in the still small Jewish settlement, and the principles of free immigration, labor, and settlement are violated.

In our perplexity we turn to the Social Democrats of the States allied with Turkey, just as we direct the attention of the Socialists and Labor Parties of England, France, and Italy, particularly to the events in Russia. We do not know whether friendly pressure exercised by the Central European Powers upon Turkey, and by the Western Powers upon Russia, will lead to concrete results. But the Governments of Powers that wish to be regarded as civilized States must learn that they share in the guilt of all attacks upon justice and liberty if they endorse the acts of their "friends." Such is the view that must be expressed by the Socialists of all countries, no matter whether they exercise a direct or an indirect influence upon the Government of their country.

VII

THE JEWISH QUESTION AND THE INTERNATIONAL.

The duty of the proletarian International does not consist merely in averting the immediate dangers that threaten the Jews of Russia and Palestine. We expect that the solidarity of the International will help to bring the Jewish question within the purview of the national questions whose solution has been made inevitable through the war. Despite the profound diversities of culture and political conditions in Russia, Poland, Austria, and Turkey, our survey shows that the political conflicts caused by the existence of nine million Jews in these countries have only one meaning. They are a struggle of the ruling groups of the nations in whose midst the Jews live against the existence and for the displacement or national absorption of the Jewish minorities; whilst the Jewish masses defend and preserve their national individuality by dint of all their vital strength, and amid the severest economic and cultural privations. In agreement with the overwhelming majority of the Jewish working class, and, we are convinced, also of the entire Jewish people, we demand the right of national self-determination for the Jewish minorities in all countries. We

demand, particularly in poly-national States, where the Jews form an independent community and endeavor to conserve their specific national life, legal guarantees for our national existence and our unfettered intellectual development, self-government in national affairs, and national equality in the government of State, county, and city. We are aware that the territorial dispersion of the Jews presents difficulties of a special character and cause problems that we cannot discuss here. But it is clear that the form of national self-government and of legal protection for the Jewish minority can be found as soon as the principle of the national equality of the Jews is conceded. If the middle-class Liberal State has found ways and means to solve the problem of religious toleration and of the autonomy of religious communities, the Democratic State of the people, which we are approaching, will have to find the strength to solve the complicated problem of the free profession of nationality and of national self-government in poly-national regions. Although this principle involves the right of the Jews to free immigration, settlement, and national organization and development in Palestine and the neighboring lands, this right must nevertheless be particularly and explicitly expressed. We certainly demand nothing unusual: only the application to the Jewish masses of the general principles of national equality, as always enunciated and advocated by the International. The Jewish masses settle mostly in regions where the national interests of several peoples touch or conflict with one another, and hence it is only reasonable to demand that the vital question of nine million Jews who are immediately concerned should be included within the political purview of the proletarian International, just like the Polish or Ukrainian, the Lettish or the Armenian question. Besides, the Jewish question is not only a European problem, but a world-wide question that profoundly affects the economic and political interests of many States.

These duties of Socialism and of Democracy towards the Jewish people, although they may appear a matter of course, must be clearly defined, for until now the view on the Jewish question that seemed to prevail in the Socialistic International was one diametrically opposed to the vital interests of the working masses of the Jewish people. To a large extent Socialists, in regard to the Jewish question, have unquestioningly adopted the assimilation ideas of the Liberal middle-class. We have seen that the tendency to dissolution is a result of the economic and social union of the Jewish bourgeoisie with the ruling classes of their sphere of interest. That this tendency in due course, affected the intellectual element of the Jewish middle class, and thereby influenced also the beginnings of the Jewish labor movement, does not alter the fact of its plutocratic origin and character. The fight for the "civil emancipation" of the Jews, in which the Socialists of all countries have also taken part, has, with the progress of the Jewish masses and the political activity of the Jewish proletariat, changed into a struggle against the national emancipation of the Jews. It was no mere chance that Dr. Diamand and Dr. Lieberman, members of the Polish Social Democratic Club of the Austrian Parliament, collaborated with the most reactionary representatives of the Jewish plutocracy of Galicia in an assimilationist declaration upon the Polish Jewish question. This coalition is quite symbolical and is rooted in the

essence of this anti-national tendency. Hence we expect of the Socialistic International the express acknowledgment of the right of the Jewish people to existence and development as well as to protection against compulsory assimilation.

In order to be able to raise its voice for the national rights of the Jews, the International Workmen's Association must manifest in its own organization respect for the national individuality of the Jews. In the representative bodies of the Socialistic International the right to a national section must be conceded to the Jewish class, just as to other nations that no longer have State independence or are subject to several Governments. In the resolution (Marsh 4, 1906) on representation at International Congresses and in the International Bureau a nation is defined as a group of people "whose striving after independence and whose intellectual unity must be regarded as the result of a long-continued historic tradition whether it is subject to one or several Governments." The authors of this formula certainly did not think of the Jewish people, but it can hardly be disputed that it formally justifies the claim to a Jewish section in the proletarian International. The adhesion of the Jewish Socialist parties to this Section cannot be made dependent upon their views of the Jewish question, as long as they are not opposed to the general principles of International Socialism. Should it be impossible, when the initial steps are taken for the resumption of international relations, to carry out this urgent reform, then, at any rate a special delegation of the Jewish Socialist and Trade Union organizations must take part in the deliberations of the Socialist and Labor parties of all countries concerning the peace action of the proletariat, whether in the International Bureau or at an extraordinary International Congress. Only such a special delegation of the Jewish proletariat of all countries will be able to inform the International concerning the position and the demands of the Jewish people in the various countries. And only the expressed will of such a comprehensive Jewish deputation can form the basis of a political action by the International.

The hopes of the Jewish working class are bound up with the peace action of the international proletariat. The war has shown that the working masses form, in war and in peace, the indispensable basis of society and of its State organization. Without the participation of the proletariat, not only upon the battle-fields, but in coal mines and iron foundries, in transport and in the manufacture of war materials, modern warfare is inconceivable. It is to this indispensability that the working class owes its invincible power, which it will ultimately use in the cause of humanity, liberty, and an early peace, free from any germs of new racial conflicts. This end can only be achieved if the policy of imperialism in subjugating peoples is opposed by the solution of national questions upon the basis of free self-determination and democratic equality. The union of Socialistic States can only be a federation of free and equal nations.

THE HAGUE, November 1915.

I.

Russia and the Jews

ORDERS OF CHIEF COMMANDERS AND MILITARY GOVERNORS.

ORDER OF THE GRAND DUKE NICHOLAI NICHOLAJEVITCH
TO THE MILITARY GOVERNORS:

Our experience in this war has clearly shown us the inimical attitude of the Jewish population, especially of Galicia and Bukovina. As soon as any important change takes place in the dispositions of our armies and each time we temporarily evacuate this district or that, the enemy, due to Jewish instigation, enforces severe measures against the loyal non-Jewish population. In order to protect this truly devoted population from the oppression of the enemy and to guard our armies against the treason of the Jews along the entire front, the Commander-in-Chief of all the Russian troops has found it necessary that the Jews be expelled upon the retreat of the foe and hostages be taken from among them, first of all the rich and influential Jews and then the eminent Rabbis, and sent as prisoners into the interior of the country; preferably to the Province of Kiev where they shall be interned in concentration camps.

The Jewish population, as well as the hostages, are to be warned that they shall be held responsible for each severe measure of the enemy against the loyal non-Jewish people. At the same time is the non-Jewish population to be informed that our measures against the Jews are taken as precaution for the protection of the loyal non-Jews, as the six months' duration of the war has convinced us that the Jewish population has acted illoyally and treacherously towards us and that it has not the slightest sympathy with its neighbors.

The officials of the various provinces are instructed to drive the Jews to the regions behind the Dniepr. The further disposition of the prisoners is left to the Minister of Interior.

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ORDER No. 89

Issued to the Soldiers of the Fortified Region, Fortress Novogeorgievsk, Nov. 27, 1914.

"The German newspapers print articles declaring that among the Russian Jews the Germans find reliable allies who, besides supplying them with food, are the best and often the most unselfish spies, ready to enter any service injurious to the cause of

Russia, and that in German victory the Jews see their salvation from Imperial oppression and Polish persecution. Similar information continues to come in from the army.

In order to protect the army from the harmful activities of the Jewish population, the Commander-in-Chief has ordered that the forces of occupation take hostages from among the Jewish population, warning the inhabitants that in case of treacherous activities on the part of anyone of the local inhabitants not only during the period of our occupation of a given inhabited point, but also after our leaving it, should the latter be necessary, the hostages will be executed.

Upon occupation of inhabited points, careful search is therefore to be made to find out whether there are any arrangements for wireless telegraphy, signaling, pigeon stations, underground telegraphs, and so forth, and the full penalty of the law is to be meted out to anyone connected with this.

Reference: Telegram by General Oranovsky of this year under No. 3432. Signed, Chief of the Fortified Region.

General of the Cavalry, Bobyr."

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ORDER OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN LEMBERG, COUNT BOBRINSKY,
Issued February 13 (26), 1915.

In conformity with the orders of the Commander-in-Chief of the armies on the Southwestern front, the Military Governor of Galicia, in view of the lately increased espionage on the part of the Jews, has made the following decision with regard to places under martial law:

1. Persons of Jewish nationality are forbidden to enter within the boundaries of Galicia.
2. Persons of Jewish nationality are forbidden to go from one district of Galicia into another.
3. Offenders are liable to fine up to 3,000 roubles or prison up to three months.

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ORDER OF THE MILITARY OFFICE OF KOLOMEA.

Announcement. I hereby make known to the entire Jewish population of Kolomea that in case the railroads, telegraphs or telephones within the region of Delatyn, Kolomea and Sniatyn should sustain the slightest damage, the entire Jewish community of the City of Kolomea will be charged with a considerable contribution. Should the latter not be paid within three days, the entire Jewish population of the City will be expelled from all the territory occupied by the army.

Head of Kolomea District, Prince Lobanov Rostovsky.

THE SECRET ORDER TO SUPPRESS THE JEWISH NEWSPAPERS.

11 (24) July, 1915. Strictly confidential.

Minister of the Interior

Circular.

To the Postmasters and Heads of the Telegraph and Postal Stations of the Vilna District

The Governor of Vilna has, pursuant to the order of July 5, under No. 20536, notified me that according to the announcement of the Commander-in-Chief of the Dvinsk region, the Chief Commander of the armies on the Northwestern front had ordered to prohibit the publication and distribution of newspapers in Yiddish as well as the acceptance and delivery of correspondence in that language.

For the Chief of the District, Engineer (Signed)

Official for Special Duties (Signed).

* * * * *

THE BANISHMENT OF THE JEWS FROM THE PROVINCES OF COURLAND AND KOVNO.

In accordance with the decree of the Army Commander, all the Jews are to be banished who live west of the line Kovno-Yonov-Wilcomir-Ponevezh-Posfol-Salaty-Bausk. As to the Jews living in the places now in the hands of the enemy, the above-given order must be carried out as soon as the German army shall have evacuated those places to the oncoming Russians.

The exiled Jews are to go to either of the following districts: Bakhmut, Mariupol, and Slavianserbsk, of the Government of Yecaterinoslav; Poltava, Gadyatch, Senjkov, Kobelyaki, Konstantinograd, Lokvitch, Lubensk, Mirgorod, Romni, Khorolsk, of the Government of Poltava. The last date for the expulsion is the 5th of May. Staying beyond the term west of the above-mentioned line will entail punishment under martial law. Police officers who will fail to take the right measures for the fulfilment of this order will be removed from office and brought to account.

(Published in the Russian daily press.)

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ORDER OF THE CHIEF QUARTERMASTER OF THE ARMY
on the Southwestern Front. No. 1845. Given at Lublin, on March 31, 1915.

"According to the information in our possession it is in consequence of an excess of Jewish soldiers in the transport service and the establishments behind the front, who enter into communication with the local Galician Jews, that the Austrian spies are well posted on what takes place at and behind the front obtaining as they do their knowledge from the Galician Jews and the Russian-Jewish soldiers. In addition, the Jewish soldiers, under the pretext of service, profit by their right to enter Russia and transport packages and letters evading visit and search.

To put a stop to this undesirable affair, the Commander-in-Chief has ordered that all the Jewish soldiers accredited to the service of the front should immediately be placed in the reserve battalions where they shall be detained for a six weeks' training, whereupon they shall be sent to the regiment and placed under special surveillance.

Signed Infantry-General
(name illegible)

Signed Major-General Sershevsky
Ratified by the First Adjutant-Colonel
(name illegible)

* * * * *

TELEGRAM OF THE GENERAL STAFF OF THE 30th ARMY CORPS.

The Corps Commander decrees the execution of the order of the Chief quartermaster of the field army. The forced evacuation is hereby completely arrested during the retreat. The fugitives who retire voluntarily towards our provinces as well as the inhabitants of the frontier regions shall be directed into the Eastern parts of the Volhynia and Podolia governments. If the military measures permit it, those should not be retained who wish to return to Galicia.

The Jews of Galicia shall not pass our frontiers; those who will have penetrated into our territory along with the fugitives must as much as possible be sent back to Galicia. There are at present, along the Austrian frontier, encampments of Jews who had been expelled from the military zone and not admitted into Russia. While retreating and passing the frontiers, a rigorous search shall be made throughout those encampments; they should be isolated to avoid infection. Energetic measures even violence shall likewise be employed to drive the Jews in the direction of the enemy.

Signed, Lieutenant-Colonel, STAVROGIN.

(From the report of the Central Committee of the Constitutionalist-Democratic Party on the Jewish Question, at their general assembly of 19-21 of June, 1915.)

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C I R C U L A R *)

MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR. POLICE DEPARTMENT.

Section Six.

January 9, 1916

To the Governors, City Prefects, County Chiefs, Police Bureaus of the Provinces

According to information reaching the Department of Police, the Jews are actually engaged in an energetic revolutionary propaganda with the aid of numerous

*) Read by the Socialist Deputy Tchkhelidze at the Duma session of the 23rd of February 1916.

secret organizations in order to excite general discontent in Russia. Aside from criminal agitation in the army and the big industrial centers of the Empire, as well as the instigation to strikes, they avail themselves of these two important modes of action: boosting the price of primary necessities of life and buying up the money.

Seeing that neither military reverses nor revolutionary agitation exercise any serious influence upon the masses of the people, the secret partisans of Germany propose to provoke general discontentment and protest against the war by means of famine and excessive inflation of the price of foodstuffs.

Thanks to the lack of money in circulation, the Jews seek to inspire the population with mistrust towards the Russian paper money, to lower its value, and to induce the depositors to withdraw their funds from the credit institutions of the State. The Jews energetically exploit the occasion of the issue of exchange certificates to spread amongst the people the rumor that the Russian Government already failed since it had no more metal for bullion money.

The large participation of Jews in the criminal activity above described, seems to explain itself by their desire to obtain the abolition of their present Pale of Settlement and that they consider the present moment as the most auspicious for the realization of their ends by means of an activity tending to create a state of trouble in the country.

The Department of Police submit the above for your knowledge and information. (Cries of, "What shame!" What infamy!").

Signatures: Acting Director, KAFAROV
For the Secretary, PORETZKY
Acting Registrar, VINOGRADOV.

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INTERPELLATION ON THE ILLEGAL MEASURES OF THE AUTHORITIES TOWARDS THE JEWISH POPULATION.

Submitted in the Duma on March 3, 1916, by the Deputies Friedman, Raditchev, Tchkhenskeli, Milyoukof, Jefremof, Soukhanof, Maklakov etc. and addressed to the President of the Council of Ministers and to the Ministers of Finance and the Interior.

"On January the 9th, 1916, the Department of Police sent to the governors, city magistrates, county chiefs and the gendarmerie of the provinces, the subjoined confidential circular containing the following indication:

"The Jews actually are engaged, with the aid of numerous secret societies, in active revolutionary propaganda to fan general discontentment in Russia; aside from criminal agitation in the army and the big industrial and manufacturing centers and instigations to strikes, they make use of two important factors: the artificial raising of prices on articles of prime necessity and the money retired from circulation." The

Circular goes on in the same vein telling that the Jews endeavor to discredit the Russian currency and to incite the depositors to withdraw their money from the credit institutions of the States, whereas they at the same time buy up the money through special agents.

The political intent of the cited document and the designs of its authors are evident and have been sufficiently demonstrated in the Duma in the course of the debates on the general policies of the Government.

The undersigned consider the publication of this Circular an illegal act, inadmissible from the point of view of the general interests of the State.

It is beyond doubt that such a document signed by a private individual or any organization whatsoever would have called forth legal prosecution.

This document attacking a whole nation, hurling against it a general and unfounded accusation of a most flagitious crime; which hardly compares with the proclamations of the "Black Hundreds," in the year 1905, inciting to general massacres of Jews and intellectuals; this document is the embodiment of the crime consisting in stirring up one part of the population against the other. In publishing and signing such a document, in the name of a state institution, the authorities of the Police Department have, through their signatures alone, proven conclusively the utter lack of evidence for the accusations levelled against the Jews in the Circular. They took advantage of their official position to lend them the character of verisimilitude. Such manner of action is a criminal abuse of power. In this case the abuse is so much more flagrant and its eradication so much more urgent as the culprits are the superior functionaries of the Department of Police whom the law commands (Code, Volume I, 11th part, ministerial disposition, chap. 362). "To treat all affairs by prevention and suppression of crime and protecting public order and security."

There are many glorious aspects to the problem, as well as some seeming difficulties. Space prohibits an extended discussion of what has been done by others, what has been accomplished by Jews themselves and what can be done to.

Such illicit acts on the part of the Department of Police must be speedily stopped, for it will be seen from another document—the secret circular of the Department of Contributions to the Chiefs of the Chambers of Finance, section I, No. 9306, July 23, 1915,— that this is not the first time that the Department of Police publishes documents full of vague and unfounded charges against whole nations calculated to excite against them the ignorant masses.

It follows from the Circular of the Contributions Department that the Department of Police had despatched, last summer, to the governors a circular signed by its Chief, Assistant Minister of the Interior, Major-General Dyunkovsky, and containing the following communication: "The Germans, to undermine the well-being of the Russian rural population, intend to burn, this summer, the entire crop in the different parts of the Empire by means of special machines. For that purpose special incendiaries are trained. Russian subjects, Germans and Jews, will take part in the execution of the project."

It is known that the events did not confirm the forebodings of the Police Department. Nowheres was there arson of cereals and never was any German, Russian or Jew seen setting fire to the crops. Though the ineptness of the forecast was apparent from the start; though the circular of the Police Department emphasized that the rumors had not been substantiated, nevertheless this same Department did not refrain from publishing such unconfirmed reports full of grave accusations against an entire people, in direct violation of all legal norms. (Here follows an exposition of the law demonstrating that the despatch of the Circular by the Department of Contributions was not alone illegal, but constitutes an abuse of authority and, furthermore, a misuse of power, since dispositions of such nature, even if founded and necessary, may not emanate from this Department).

The illegal acts of the Jewish population exist only in the circular literature of the authorities, of which the two samples subjoined have been published.

Almost simultaneously, in evident approval of the publication of the circular of the Police Department, there was instituted in Moscou, on the 8th of January last, a wild raid ("oblava") upon Jews under the pretext of combating speculation. With utter disregard for the established order and law, hundreds of innocent people were arrested, among them many old men and women. They were locked up in police stations solely because they were Jews or thought to be Jews by their appearance. The imprisonment took place openly, in broad daylight, in a manner extremely insulting and highly offensive. The great majority of thus abused were released before twenty-four hours elapsed. No charge was entered against them, either legal or administrative. No investigation was made to find out the participation of the prisoners in the speculations.

The Jews, however, who had no right of legal domicile in Moscou were not freed. Such man-hunting expeditions into the ranks of Jewry took place in many other towns. These razzias clearly show that the object is to render the Jews responsible, in the eyes of the populace, for the mounting prices and to identify them with malevolent speculators.

In consideration of the above, we propose to the Duma, in conformity with par. 33 of the Duma regulations, to address to the President of the Council of Ministers and to the Ministers of the Interior and Finance the following interpellation.

1.) Are you cognizant of the above-named unlawful acts committed by officers and persons who are your subordinates?

2.) These facts being known to you, what measures have you taken to defeat the consequences of said illegal acts and to make clear the responsibility of the guilty functionaries?

We solicit the recognition of the urgency of the present interpellation.

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SPEECH OF DEPUTY FRIEDMAN IN THE DUMA, (AUGUST 2, 1915).

In spite of their oppressed condition, in spite of their status of outlawry, the Jews have risen to the exalted mood of the nation and in the course of the last year have participated in the war in a noteworthy manner. They fell short of the others in no respect. They mobilized their entire enrollment, but, indeed with this difference, that they have also sent their only sons into the war. The newspapers at the beginning of the war had a remarkable number of Jewish volunteers to record. Gentlemen, those were volunteers who were entitled through their educational qualifications to the rank of officers. They knew that they would not receive this rank; and nevertheless they entered the war.

The Jewish youth, which, as a result of the restrictions as to admission to the high schools of the country, had been forced to study abroad, returned home when war was declared, or entered the armies of the allied nations. A large number of Jewish students fell at the defense of Liege and other points on the Western front.

The Jews built hospitals, contributed money, and participated in the war in every respect just as did the other citizens. Many Jews received marks of distinction for their conduct at the front.

Before me lies the letter of a Jew who returned from the United States of America:

"I risked my life," he writes, "and if, nevertheless, I came as far as Archangel, it was only because I loved my fatherland more than my life or that American freedom which I was permitted to enjoy. I became a soldier, and lost my left arm almost to the shoulder. I was brought into the governmental district of Courland. Scarcely had I reached Riga when I met at the station my mother and my relatives, who had just arrived there, and who on that same day were compelled to leave their hearth and home at the order of the military authorities. Tell the gentlemen who sit on the benches of the Right that I do not mourn my lost arm, but that I do mourn deeply the self-respect that was not denied to me in alien lands but is now lost to me."

Such was the sentiment of the Jews that found expression in numerous appeals and manifestations in the press, and finally also in this House. Surely these sentiments should have been taken into account. One should have a right to assume that the Government would adopt measures for the amelioration of the fate of the Jews who found themselves in the very centre of the war-like occurrences. Likewise, one should have taken into account the sentiments of hundreds of thousands of Jews who shed their blood on the field of battle.

Instead of that, however, we see that from the beginning of the war the measures of reprisals against the Jewish populace were not only not weakened but, on the contrary, made much stronger. Banished were Jewish men and women whose husbands, children, and brothers, were shedding their blood for the fatherland. A wounded soldier named Alexander Roskhov, who had been shot in the head, came to Charkof for further

treatment. On his passport were the words, "To be sent to a settlement." The private soldier Godlewski, one of whose legs had been amputated, and who found himself at Rostov-on-the Don for recuperation, they tried to send to his native village in the Government of Kalisch, already under German occupation; and it was only due to the activities of the Rural League that he was permitted to stay. An apothecary's helper, who likewise had been wounded on the battlefield, was not allowed to remain in Petrograd for his cure, and it was only by virtue of special intercession that he was later allowed to sojourn two months more at Petrograd, with the notice, however, that at the expiration of this period no further extension of his sojourn would be granted.

In a long war lucky events alternate with unlucky ones, and in any case it is naturally useful to have scapegoats in reserve. For this purpose there exists the old firm; the Jew. Scarcely has the enemy reached our frontiers when the rumor is spread that Jewish gold is flowing over to the Germans, and that, too, in aeroplanes, in coffins, and—in the entrails of geese!

Scarcely had the enemy pressed further than there appeared again beyond dispute the eternal Jew "on the white horse," perhaps the same one who once rode on the white horse through the city in order to provoke a pogrom. The Jews have set up telephones, have destroyed the telegraph lines. The legend grew, and with the eager support of the powers of Government and the agitation in official circles, assumed ever greater proportions. A series of unprecedented, unheard-of, cruel measures were adopted against the Jews. These measures, which were carried out before the eyes of the entire population, suggested to the people and to the army the recognition of the fact that the Jews were treated as enemies by the Government, and that the Jewish population was outside the law.

In the first place these measures consisted of the complete transplanting of the Jewish population from many districts, to the very last man. These compulsory migrations took place in the Kingdom of Poland and in many other territories. All told, about a half million persons have been doomed to a state of beggary and vagabondage. Anyone who has seen with his own eyes how these expulsions take place, will never forget them as long as he lives. The exiling took place within twenty-four hours, sometimes within two days. Women, old men, and children, and sometimes invalids, were banished. Even the feebleminded were taken from the lunatic asylums and the Jews were forced to take these with them. In Mohilnitse, 5,000 persons were expelled within twenty-four hours. Their way led to Warsaw through Kalwaria. Meantime they were forced to travel across fields through the Government of Lublin, and were deprived of the possibility of taking along their inventories. Many were obliged to travel on foot. When they reached Lublin, the Jewish Committee there had provided bread and food for them; but they were not allowed to tarry, and they had to travel on at once.

On the way an accident occurred; a six-year-old child was killed by a fall. The parents were not permitted to bury the child.

I saw also the refugees of the Government of Kovno. Persons who only yesterday were still accounted wealthy were beggars the next day. Among the refugees I met

Jewish women and girls, who had worked together with Russian women, had sewed garments with them and collected contributions with them, and who were now forced to encamp on the railway embankment. I saw families of reservists. I saw among the exiles wounded soldiers wearing the Cross of St. George. It is said that Jewish soldiers in marching through the Polish cities were forced to witness the expulsion of their wives and children. The Jews were loaded in freight cars like cattle. The bills of lading were worded as follows: "Four hundred and fifty Jews, en route to ——,"

There were cases in which the Governors refused outright to take in the Jews at all. I myself was in Vilna at the very time when a whole trainload of Jews was stalled for four days in Novo-Wilejsk station. Those were Jews who had been sent from the Government of Kovno to the Government of Poltawa, but the Governor there would not receive them and sent them back to Kovno, whence they were again re-shipped to Poltawa. Imagine, at a time when every railway car is needed for the transportation of munitions, when from all sides are heard complaints about the lack of means of transportation, the Government permits itself to do such a thing! At one station there stood 110 freight cars containing Jewish exiles.

Another measure which likewise is unprecedented in the entire history of the civilized world, is the introduction of the so-called system of "Hostages," and, indeed, hostages were taken not from the enemy, but from the country's own subjects, its own citizens. Hostages were taken in Radom, Kieltsse, Lomzha, Kovno, Riga, Lublin, etc. The hostages were held under the most rigorous regime, and at present there are still under arrest in Poltava Jewish hostages from the Governments of Kieltsse and Radom.

Some time ago, in commenting upon the procedure against the Jews, the leader of the opposition, even before the outbreak of the war, used the expression that we were approaching the times of Ferdinand and Isabella. I now assert that we have already surpassed that era. No Jewish blood was shed in defence of Spain, but ours flowed the moment the Jews helped defend the Fatherland.

Yes, we are beyond the pale of the laws, we are oppressed, we have a hard life, but we know the source of that evil; it comes from those benches (pointing to the boxes of the Ministers). We are being oppressed by the Russian Government, not by the Russian people. Why, then, is it surprising if we wish to unite our destinies, not with that of the Russian Government, but with that of the Russian people? When three years ago there was pending here the Cholm law proposal, did the thought ever occur at the time to the sponsors of the bill that in a short time they would have to scrape and bow before free autonomous Poland? We likewise hope that the time is not distant when we can be citizens of the Russian State with full equality of privileges with the free Russian people.

Before the face of the entire country, before the entire civilized world, I declare that the calumnies against the Jews are the most repulsive lies and chimeras of persons who will have to be responsible for their crimes (applause on Left.)

It depends upon you, gentlemen of the Imperial Duma, to speak the word of encouragement, to perform the action that can deliver the Jewish people from the terrible plight in which it is at present, and that can lead them back into the ranks of the Russian citizens who are defending their Fatherland (cries of "Right").

I do not know if the Imperial Duma will so act, but if it does so act it will be fulfilling an obligation of honor and an act of wise statesmanship that is necessary for the profit and for the greatness of the Fatherland (Applause on the Left.)

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FROM THE DEBATE ON THE JEWISH QUESTION IN THE DUMA

August 16, 1915.

Deputy Tchkhelidze (S. D.): It is well known to you that the Government regime has been based on Jewish oppression and that at all critical moments it aimed its blows first of all at the Jews because they were in the line of least resistance.

You remember very well that at the first signs of the Revolutionary movement in Russia, the Government went after the Jews, and its persecution took on the form of pogroms. . .

A year ago the war began and at once accusations of treachery against the Jews were started by the Government. To-day Russia and the whole world knows who is to blame for the condition in which Russia found herself. The guilty ones were not the Jews. The whole country will confirm that. The guilty ones were those who stuffed their pockets with the money which they made on Government orders for army supplies. The guilty ones were those who, with the aid of men like Myasoyedeff, Grotgus and others, betrayed Russia. . .

This is supposed to be a war for liberty, fraternity, and equality, but what justice is there in making a whole nation answer for the crimes of individuals, granting that there are any?

In the name of what truth is the Kushi slander being published in the "Pravitelstveny Vlastnik?"

In the name of what truth are the various periodical publications ordered to reprint this communication under penalty of a fine?

What justice demands that a Jewish volunteer who has several times been wounded be expelled within twenty-four hours when he tries to find a place in Russia to recover from his wounds?

In the name of what humanity is it forbidden to hand food to starving Jewish refugees cooped up in freight trains? In the name of what brotherhood is one part of the army aroused against another, against the Jewish soldiers who are in the trenches side by side with the rest of the soldiers?

We accuse the Germans of breaking the laws of warfare; of using poison gases, and mutilating prisoners. Such acts can call forth only indignation and protest. Let these acts be a stain upon the ruling classes of Germany. But, gentlemen, in the name

of what laws of humanity are orders issued to the Russian army to drive peaceful Jews ahead of the troops and to expose them to fire?

In the name of what laws of humanity are Jewish-Russian subjects taken as hostages and put into prisons and tortured and shot?

We denounced the Germans for having destroyed Louvain and the Cathedral of Rheims; but I ask you in the name of what ethical or esthetic principles is a Jewish woman who seeks refuge in the synagogue violated?"

Deputy Dslubinski (Labor Party):

I was to the front as the authorized representative of the 5th Siberian commission and can bear testimony to the immeasurable cruelty which attended the banishment of the Jews from the Government of Radom. The entire population was driven out within a few hours. At eleven o'clock in the night came the order to leave the place threatening to hang anyone who remained till sun-rise. So commenced in the dark of night the exodus of the Jews toward the neighboring town of Ilisha, thirty kilometers away. Old men, sick people, paralyzed, had to be carried on arms for want of any means of transportation. The number of banished is extraordinary. For instance, from the Government of Kovno alone 150,000 were driven out; 60,000 were expelled from the Government of Grodno; almost 200,000 Jews were ordered out from Poland, a total of nearly half a million souls driven to misery like so many criminals. Government officials and the police treat the Jewish exiles exactly as if they were criminals. As an instance, the Jewish Committee of Homel was refused access to the cars of the refugees passing through a nearby station. No food or water was permitted to reach them. Another case is that of a train full of banished Jews who had been given but two hours to evacuate their places in, which was not opened even once during its long journey. Most of the refugees in the train were half-dead, 16 became sick with scarlet fever, one got typhoid fever and one woman died of exhaustion on the fourth day.

The Governors of the provinces where the exiles were brought still more aggravated the sufferings of those innocent people by subjecting the helpless victims to ridicule and contempt. In this regard especially excelled the Governors of Poltava, Minsk, and Ekaterinoslav.

The Jewish Committee of Poltava was severely reprimanded by the Governor because of its being named "Committee for the relief of Jewish war-sufferers." By special edict the Governor decreed that the organization be known as "Committee for the relief of the exiles," the reason being that the Jews were driven from their homes as politically unreliable. The inhumanity of the local officials abated in no degree even after the publication of the order discontinuing the expulsions en masse.

The most cruel and unlawful measure is the notorious order to take hostages from our own citizens. Be it remarked that the hostages were of the wealthiest and most respected persons by the officials themselves. How inhuman to prosecute and punish a man for a wrong which he did not commit, for the guilt of a man he does not

even know! There now are over 400 hostages in the prisons of Poltava, Ekaterinoslav, and Mohilev who are in constant danger of being hanged any moment. That is, gentlemen, no empty threat. Harken, please, to the following part of the order: "The Chief Commander allows the complete evacuation in exceptional cases only and deems it necessary to take rich Jews, not Government Rabbis, as hostages with the warning that in case of treason on the part of the Jewish population those hostages shall be hanged." At Sochatchov three hostages were hung for a wrong they had not committed.

It is time, gentlemen, we gave up the mediæval institute of hostages. It is time to free those innocently suffering in the prisons. This lowers us in the estimation of our allies. It is unlawful and cruel, it is senseless and detrimental to the interests of the State."

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EXTRACT FROM THE SPEECH BY THE SOCIALIST DEPUTY TCHKHENKELI.

At the session of the Duma of June 16, 1916.

This Speech Was Delivered During the Debate on the Bill to Reform the
Legal Status of the Peasants.

Not for a moment must we forget the conditions we live in. Many times it has been brought to light that the agents of the Government continue their criminal propaganda against the Jews of the land, that they issue against them calumnious accusations, that they create an atmosphere of pogroms. In several cities pogroms have already taken place. It is impossible to give all the facts in our possession. I will read, however, a few words from a circular characterizing the tenor of the facts:

"Information has come to the General Staff of the Supreme Command that cases of sexual disease, and especially of syphilis, have considerably increased of late in the army. Indications are that a German-Jewish organization pays sufficiently high sums to sustain women infected with syphilis to the end that they may attract the officers and infect them with the malady."

I will not touch upon other calumnies. You know them well. You know, too, how the Government kept its word given here personally through the mouth of Kafafov, the ancient director of the Police Department. You are aware that the circular of the Police Department, of June 22, continues to go round the country, that it has, for instance, been signed by the Governor of Kherson etc.

The time has already arrived for the recognition that the Jewish question is the same as the general Russian question, and that the curtailment of Jewish rights is based upon the limitation of the rights of the Russian people. The leaders and exploiters of reaction make use of every occasion to play their unworthy demagogic tricks at the expense of the question of extending to the Jews the benefits of this bill. The reporter and his friends allow themselves to be captivated by this demagogy.

But can't you see that by trying to persuade the Russian peasants that equal Jewish rights are pernicious to their cause and injurious to their vital interests, the peasants are being exposed to an effrontery absolutely inadmissible? Can it be that you believe the peasants incapable of understanding that they cannot have their happiness reared on the misfortune of others? If, however, they understand that, they must equally well see that the entire anti-Jewish policy of the Government is a speculation upon the ignorance, spoliation and semi-starvation of the peasants.

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FROM A STATEMENT BY 300,000 ORGANIZED JEWISH WORKMEN OF AMERICA. *)

"The undersigned representatives of large Jewish organizations in the United States of America consider it their duty to expose the falsity of the official Russian statement by presenting to the public facts and data. The latter have found their way into Russian, Polish, and Russian-Jewish newspapers in Russia under the strictest censorship. . . .

1.) Jews who had left their homes within the war zone and sought refuge outside the Pale of Settlement, were driven back by the police and compelled to return to their war swept places.

2.) Wounded Jewish soldiers taken to hospitals outside the Pale, were sent back to the Ghetto as soon as they had slightly recovered. In many cases they were driven back into the Pale within three days after the amputation of limbs.

3.) The newspapers now confirm the fact that the Russian Military Staff had expelled all Jews from within a zone of forty miles behind the war front. Hundreds of thousands of Jews were completely ruined and hundreds of Jewish communities destroyed. The reason as given officially for these expulsions is the dastardly accusation that the Jews are Austro-German spies. These calumnies have resulted in arousing the passions of the masses and the soldiery against the Jewish people.

4.) The Russian censorship makes it impossible for the Jewish press to report on the persecutions and massacres of the Jews in Russia. The general American press, however, and even some French and English papers are well informed of what takes place in Russian Poland and Galicia and to what degree the Jews are suffering from Russian cruelty and barbarity. These press reports cite facts, numbers, dates and names with an exactitude which leaves no room for doubting their veracity or accuracy.

Be it said here that some responsibility for the large number of Jews executed by the Russian Military in Galicia, Bukovina, and Russian-Poland, must be laid at the door of the infamous machinations on the part of some sections of the Polish population who denounced the Jews as Austro-German spies.

(Called forth by the statement of the Russian Press Bureau at New York, published in all the American newspapers, on March 17, 1915, bluntly denying all reports of Jewish persecutions in Russia. The Bureau in its announcement made use of disconnected excerpts from what Baron Ginsburg had said, after a visit to the front, of the expressions of high praise for the Jewish soldiers as given utterance to by the Russian officers to the representatives of the Petrograd Jewish Relief Committee.)

The undersigned representatives of Jewish public opinion in America are far from placing the guilt of those barbarities and monstrosities upon the shoulders of the Russian people. They do, however, declare the Russian Government responsible for this devilish work and call upon the civilized world to raise a protest against the policy of the Russian Government which has but one object in mind—the destruction of the Jewish people.”

The United Hebrew Trades (signed Shiplacoff), The Workmen's Circle (signed Dr. Rosenblatt), The Jewish National Workers' Alliance (signed M. Brown), The Jewish Socialist Labor Party Poale Zion (signed H. Ehrenreich), and The Jewish Socialist Federation (signed Salutsky).

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STATEMENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE GENERAL JEWISH LABOR ASSOCIATION IN RUSSIA (“BUND”), 1915.

(Adopted as resolution by revolutionary labor meetings in Russia).

The war has not only not weakened the usual pogrom policy of the Russian Government, but, on the contrary, has strengthened it. At this time when the country passes through the biggest crisis, the Government continues, simultaneously with the utterance of the phrase about “Freeing the Nations,” to oppress the nations and threatens the Jewish people with physical destruction.

As heretofore, the Jews are now, too, the scape-goat on which to wreak revenge for its incapacity and venality, for the decay of the whole autocratic regime. The Mohammedans on the Caucasian front and the Jews on the Western front must bear the responsibility for the defeats suffered by the Russian army as a result of this regime and the incapacity of its leaders.

For the treachery of the Russian Gendarmerie, for the treason of Colonel Mjasoyedov, the Jews must pay with their existence, their liberty, their lives. Expulsions of hundreds of thousands of Jews accompanied by massacres have become a daily occurrence. The horrible scenes, the misery, the desolation defy all description. The dark Middle Ages witnessed nothing of the kind.

To justify its atrocities, the Bureaucracy invents cases of “national treason” on the part of Jews, as shown by the “cases” of Kushi and Kieltz. The fact that these maliciously framed up cases were published in the official organs and posted on the streets, demonstrates clearly the policy of the Government to instigate pogroms.

The press is muzzled, the military censorship rages unchecked, and the atrocities against the Jews proceed with their dreadful course under the ominous silence of society and the ignoble indifference of the liberal Russian circles.

We Jewish Social-Democrats hold it our duty to reveal to the whole world the persecution and the cruelties the Jews are subjected to. We call for a vigorous protest by all, by all those who have not lost their political conscience, who apprehend the danger

which threatens, not alone the Jews, but all Russia, through the machinations of that handful of cruelty mongers who turn the millions of Russian soldiers into wild hordes.

We direct our appeal to the class conscious proletarians of all the nationalities inhabiting Russia. We demand that they raise their voice against the horrible deeds perpetrated against us.

We further direct our appeal to the international proletariat whose duty it is to tear the veil from the atrocities to which the Jews are exposed. From them, the proletarians of Russia's allies, we demand that they press their respective Governments to protest against the bloody savageries of their ally.

We finally direct our appeal to the Socialists of the neutral lands of Europe and America. In those countries the Czar seeks to win sympathy and favor. The Socialists of neutral states are under the obligation to fulfil their proletarian duty so that the Russian autocracy shall get the reception it has prepared for itself by its criminal deeds.

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FROM A PROCLAMATION OF THE JEWISH SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOR PARTY
(POALE ZION) OF RUSSIA ON THE FIRST OF MAY, 1915.

At a time when the whole of Europe is drenched with the blood of millions, when hunger and want stalk amidst the working people, we celebrate the holiday of the struggle against militarism and oppression, for peace and freedom. The colossal strike movement in Petersburg is still fresh in our memory. The blood of our Russian comrades shed in the streets of Petersburg by the murderous clique of the Czar has not yet dried, we still see the heroic struggle which the proletariat of Russia took up anew against its enemy—when suddenly the war broke out and streams of blood checked the new revolutionary wave. The fighters for freedom of yesterday have been hurled into a fratricidal combat, in the interests of their murderers and oppressors. To appease the imperialistic appetite of the capitalist class,—millions of men feed with their flesh the cannon and machine guns. On the corpses of millions of murdered workers, over rivers of blood and tears the capitalists erect their prosperity.

To befog the minds of the masses, to divert their attention from their real interests, the capitalist class, with the help of their press, have issued a clarion call that the fight is on for the freedom of oppressed peoples.

Already we have tasted of the fruits of the heralded freedom. The labor deputies in the Duma have been banished into cold Siberia. The labor press is being throttled, labor unions persecuted, the officials of workmen's kitchens imprisoned.

We Jews find ourselves in an unbearable, calamitous situation. For many, many years we have not passed through such times. Our blood fills the streets, our wives and daughters are violated, our chattel robbed and our property destroyed. Under the pretext of espionage, hundreds of thousands of Jews are being driven from their homes, innocent Jews are being shot down and hanged in great numbers. Tens of thousands

smart in prisons; pogroms are being organized in Galicia and in large parts of the Settlement Pale, desolation and destruction reign wherever the Russian army sets foot.

Poland has become the center of these massacre orgies. The Polish capitalists are in alliance with the Russian bureaucracy to suppress both the workers and the Jews. We are the perennial scapegoat, the line of least resistance.

The deliverance of the oppressed peoples will not result from the promises of the reactionary Government. The way to a free national life lies through the struggle against reaction. Only when the masses come into control, will the oppressed peoples, the Jews included, win full opportunity for a free and unhampered national life and development." . . .

The last part of the proclamation gives expression to the conviction that the only radical solution of the Jewish Question is the rehabilitation of Palestine for the Jews. The fulfilment of the Palestine ideal is a necessary consequence of the economic condition of the Jewish people and is chiefly dependent upon their own endeavors.

In conclusion, the hope is expressed that the attempts to cause split and disorganization in the ranks of the international proletariat will soon be defeated and the socialist Internationale will speedily recover its former power and splendor.

II.

The Poles and the Jews

From the work, "The Jewish Question in Congress-Poland,"

By LEON WASILEVSKI.

Published in 1915

By the Weekly "Poland," Organ of the Supreme Polish National Committee.

The Jewish Question was the battlefield of two contending factions. One asserted that the Jews were a separate nation, strangers, who never assimilate themselves in the native people, who never would accept its culture and who therefore would not be worthy of equality before the law. Friends of Jewish emancipation, on the contrary, contended that the Jews had lost their nationality with the destruction of their State and that they only are members of a religious community, whose parts scattered as they are throughout the world, can well absorb themselves in the majority population of each land upholding only their distinction of faith.

The assertion that the Jews are no nation, was for the representatives of the liberal tendency their sole ground for and their only title to equal rights. The exponent of Jewish emancipation and at the same time the leader of the Liberal Party, Clermont Tonnerre, introduced a bill in the National Assembly, on the 21st of December, 1789, to the effect that no one shall have his rights as citizen abridged because of his vocation or creed. Defending with passionate eloquence the cause of the Jews, he said: "The Jews as a nation are to be deprived of everything, the Jews as individuals are to be given everything." Abbot Mory opposed the bill asserting that "the word Jew signifies no religious sect, it is the name of a nation, which has its laws that it always has followed and still continues to follow."

Such was the character of the struggle about the emancipation of the Jews. Equal rights were accorded to them in the year 1791 as to a religious group, not as to a nation. Civil equality was to some extent the price for the disappearance of the Jews as a nation. The walls of the Ghetto fell under the blows of the Revolution; but the

destruction of the Ghetto was simultaneously the death sentence of the Jewish nation as such.

The Assembly of Jewish Notables convoked by Napoleon I in the years 1807-1809—the so-called Great Sanhedrin—recognized that and put forward, among other things, that, "The Jews of to-day already form no nation, but a part of the great (French) nation and consider that their political emancipation." At the cost of national abnegation, the Jews of France obtained civil equality and the organization of religious communities.

The emancipation of the Jews in the rest of Europe travelled the same path. The liberal thought emanating from France spread tearing down the walls of the Ghetto and making for their assimilation. This was the basis of the civil equality for the Jews in Poland as championed by Marquis Wielopolski.

. . . Polish society was, with regard to the Jewish Question, under the sway of West-European views. To make of the Jews Polish citizens after the pattern of Western Europe, was the traditional policy of the Polish Kingdom. It was the belief of all that civil equality would solve the Jewish Question through absorption of the Jews in the Polish nation. This belief was shared by the Jewish educated classes who made themselves known as "Poles of Hebrew persuasion."

These tendencies toward assimilation stranded upon the rock of Jewish nationalism which turned assimilation down as something impossible and harmful. The growth of Jewish nationalism has not, of course, prevented the assimilation of a certain part of the Jewish population wherever conditions were auspicious. Nevertheless, the process of absorption has slackened and—what is still more important—the ground slipped from under the feet of those Polish elements who saw in assimilation the only possible solution of the Jewish Question.

As a consequence, Polish society took exception to Jewish nationalists, more so because—at the beginning, at least,—the champions of Jewish nationalism had been almost exclusively the so-called Lithuanian Jews ("Litwaki"). The problem about the Litwaki gains daily in significance and is becoming a burning issue. For the Litwaki have not alone brought Jewish nationalism into Poland and weakened the tendency to assimilation; they have also appeared as the tools of Russianization.

The expulsion from Moscou of several thousands of Jewish families who had become in language and culture completely Russian and their immigration into Poland brought the Polish people face to face with a new form of Russification. What mattered it that a considerable part of those Jews became nationalists and were even opposed to the Russian Government? In their daily life they were Russians, thereby strengthening the Russian element of the country and weakening Poland's power of resistance to the Russianizing onslaughts of the Government. Russia expelled them but they came to Poland, there to build a new Russia!

The Russian Government drove the Jews out of Russia into the Kingdom of Poland with the clear purpose of utilizing them as tools for its policy of Russifying Poland. Year in, year out streams of Litwaks flowed into the most important centres of Poland. Each new outburst of anti-Semitism on the part of the Government, each

new phase of massacres in Russia, increased these streams of immigration. The number of Jews in Poland has steadily grown, absolutely and relatively. Warsaw has gradually assumed all the characteristics of a Jewish city. In the year 1900, there were in Warsaw 257, 712 Jews, in the year 1901—262,824, in 1904—274,378, in 1909—282,704, and in the year 1910 there were 306,061 Jews. Thus in the course of one decade, the number of Jews in Poland's chief centre increased by 50,000, while the ratio to the general population grew from 35,77 to 39,18 per cent.

. . . The freeing of Polish territory from Russia will result in its Europeanization, in the destruction of the Jewish Ghetto and the attainment by the Jews of equal civil rights. That which is an accomplished fact in Europe, which is an accomplished fact in Galicia, must become a reality also in Poland. Liberated Poland will call for the cooperation of the Jewish citizens in the all-around development of the country.

That will gradually weaken the nationalistic tendencies of the Jews, the more so since, freed of all Russian restraints, the rich Polish culture will regain its irresistible attraction and undoubtedly exert a strong influence upon the Jews. That will mark the disappearance of the 'Litwak' the type of Jew who now serves as a tool of Russification. It is difficult to conceive that in a land freed from Russian yoke, where adherence to Russian Culture brings no advantages, there should be found Jews who would consider themselves Russians, especially after all the latest bloody pogroms. . . .

There can be no doubt that the Jewish Question will yet present many a difficulty in the future. Meanwhile the overthrow of Russian domination and the affiliation of the land with European civilization will prepare a broad ground for the solution of the Jewish Question after the pattern of Western Europe. The most advanced elements of Polish Jewry apprehend it. In their 'Statement' ("Courier Warszawski." No. 352, of December 12, 1914) they say among other things:

... "We base our program of activity on our sincere and devoted adherence to the land and its Polish culture. In spite of certain political tendencies directed against the Jewish people and our ideals, our firm aim remains to uplift the Jewish masses through enlightenment and through its unification with the country and the Polish nation."

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FROM THE WORK "LA QUESTION JUIVE EN POLOGNE."

Published by the Agence Polonaise de Presse in Paris, 1915.

Of the 14 millions inhabitants in the Kingdom of Poland, the Jews number nearly two millions, that is to say, 14 per cent of the general population. Out of 800,000 people in Warsaw there are 300,000 Jews, or 37½ per cent of the entire community. The number of Jews in the other cities of Poland varies from 40 to 98 per cent. As to other territories of former Poland, the ratio is as follows: In Lithuania and Ruthenia the Jews constitute 10 percent of the population; in Galicia nearly 11 per cent; in Prussia and in Posen the ratio is nearly 1.6 per cent. Here the number of Jews

diminishes, due to the economic power of the Poles and also because the German civilization exerts an irresistible influence upon the Jews.

The above-cited figures show clearly that no other people could assimilate such numbers of Jews. That is so much more difficult for a people which has no Government of its own, which enjoys no freedom of movement and which struggles desperately for its existence. It must also be remarked that the Jews inhabiting our land have continuously been subjected to the opposing influences of Polish civilization and of the Russian State which has till now been hostile to Poland. The former produced a number of Jewish Poles, heroes and martyrs who faithfully served their homeland...

On the other hand, there are Jews—true, mostly immigrants—who foster in Poland the Russian or the German civilization which they, in addition, poorly digested. This runs counter to the Polish-national tendencies and interests. Now, at the moment when the dawn of a better future smiles upon Poland, the representatives and defenders of that part of the Jewish population direct the attention of Western Europe to the false accusations which they level against the Polish nation which is bent under the burden of the ruins of the war and of the worries of the past.

There arose an impassioned conflict between the two factions of Jewish society over the control of the not yet enlightened Jewish masses. Those Polish Jews who know the conditions of our country as well as we, are just as resentful at the campaign which is carried on by the Russian Jews. The situation becomes still more complicated through the tendencies of Jewish Nationalism.

At the end of the last century a group of Jewish idealists put to the forefront the idea of Jewish rehabilitation in Palestine and the revival of the Hebrew language. This aim so noble in principle degenerated upon contact with daily needs into a sort of narrow-minded nationalism whose watchword is: *ubi bene ibi patria*. The advocates of this movement now make use of the "Jargon" alone and openly aim at the establishment of a state in a state wherever possible. As there is, however, no part in the world with such a considerable Jewish population as Poland is, our land was recognized by these nationalists as the "Promised Land," which is especially easy of conquest as the Polish nation deprived of a government of its own offers the least resistance. This part of Jewry supports the Russian and German culture in that they underscore the national antipathy and work against the Polish tendencies.

What has been the attitude of the Poles toward the Jewish population? Despite the lying informations we dare assert that the Poles have remained true to their traditions. We do not deny that in consequence of certain happenings during the last decade, a movement hostile to the Jews made its appearance actuated by their antagonism to the national ideals and interests. But anti-Semitism in its barbaric aspects does not exist in our land. There never were in Poland anti-Semitic disorders, so-called "Pogroms," which are known to other lands. What is falsely represented to European public opinion as anti-Semitism, is nothing else than a movement for personal economic protection. The Poles thereby manifest their resentment over the inimical stand of the Jews...

... The economic rejuvenation of Poland everywhere met with the passive or active opposition of the Jews. On the one hand, Polish commerce was checked in its development by the existence of a too numerous Jewish population; on the other hand, the Jews placed obstacles in the way in that they refused, for instance, to rent business places to Poles, drove away their clientele or simply exercised force...

The first hostile action on the part of the Jews took place in the memorable fall of the year 1905. The Polish banner carriers who marched solemnly through the City were insulted by Jewish youths. "Down with Poland," the Jews shouted at the meetings. The Jewish press, finally, made merry sport of the Polish hopes. But the cup was filled by the elections to the Duma in 1912 at Lodz and Warsaw... 1)

The war broke out. Over a front of several thousands kilometers the belligerent armies are desolating Polish lands. Amidst the cries of suffering filling this earth, the elements hostile to the Polish nation want to hear the Jewish voice, as if hunger and misery distinguished between religions. Such tragic conditions do not stop them from accusing the Poles, by way of numerous deceptions, that they wreak vengeance upon the Jews. A celebrated writer published a statement which has gone round the civilized world. Led amiss by Russian Jews, he had the temerity of reproaching the Polish people that they denounced the Jews before the commander of the armies and thereby provoked severe hardships. To corroborate his opinion, he brought not a single fact, date, word or demonstrable detail... 2)

Now that we know the anonymous authors of these accusations, it remains for us to look for the cause. Right or wrong, we do not know, but the commanders of the Russian army consider the Jews as an element which is attached to the enemy armies and shrinks from no espionage and treason. This is the cause of the cruelties visited upon them and of their expulsion from the war zone. In view of the military censorship it is impossible to protest within the state against the army. It were an act of bad politics to do so outside the state. It is more convenient, therefore, to shift the charge upon the weakest, that is to say, upon the Poles. Here again we see the same Jewish tendency, to follow the principle of least resistance.

... When our hopes and "the dream of our ancestors" shall have been fulfilled, when Poland shall have been reconstituted, "united, free in its language, religion, and its autonomy," as announced in the proclamation of the Generalissimo the Grand Duke, the Jewish Question will cease to exist with us in its acute form. The rebuilding of our homeland, its reorganization, will call for the united work of all the children of the land. There will be no room for opposing views, for there will be no outside influences. All the Jews, under the experienced leadership of the Jewish Poles, will sincerely further the Polish civilization which will accord them full religious liberty, and develop in peace and undisturbed. A people whose entire past bears testimony

1) The point at issue here is the elections of the Polish Social-Democrat Jagiello as deputy to the Duma from the City of Warsaw. See our footnote to the excerpt from the article by Georg Brandes.

2) Compare our excerpt from Georg Brandes' statement and "From the Polish Press."

to his love of liberty and justice, will certainly not betray his own ideal when able itself to benefit thereby.

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THE SUPREME POLISH NATIONAL COMMITTEE AND THE JEWISH QUESTION IN POLAND.

(From "Poland" No. 39 v. 24 of Sept. 1915 and Jud Ztz. No. 39 v. 22 of Sept. 1915).

The "Dziennik Narodowy," published in Petrikau, printed an article by Ritter v. Jaworski, President of the Supreme Polish National Committee, on the Jewish Question in Poland. 1)

The author designates the solution of that question as one of the most important problems for the inner relationships in Poland. The aggravation of the Jewish Question was systematically brought about by the Russian Government in that it compelled Russian Jews to settle in Poland en masse.

"When we undertake," writes Ritter von Jaworski,—“to regulate the Polish-Jewish relations which have taken on a keen edge, on the one hand, because of abnormal political and economic conditions, and, on the other hand, because of a demagogically nationalistic agitation, we must keep firmly in mind that this arrangement may proceed only on the basis of general European principles. We must fall in line with the old Polish traditions, with the traditions of the Czacki's and Wielopolski's; we must exert all our energy toward the assimilation of the Jewish population and to win them over for the interests of the country. However, this object can only be achieved by according the Jews equality of right, by creating conditions for their normal existence, by affording them the opportunity of escape from their present desperate economic plight,—in a word, by engaging them in the general work of the land. The anti-Semitic solution of the Jewish Question, in whatever form, will only result in harm to the interests of the country. Only through a clear and definite stipulation that a reconstituted Poland shall pursue no anti-Semitic policies and shall keep away from all persecution and chicanery, will we bring into being the basis for the assimilation of the Jewish masses.”

In conclusion he says: On the other hand, we must demand of the Jews that they become sincere citizens and work for the welfare and the interests of the land. That, however, will prove possible only upon extending them free access to all the sources of culture and prosperity.

Just as the Jews in the West have become good Frenchmen, Englishmen, Italians and Germans, just so we have the right to demand from our Jews that they shall be good Poles and conscientious citizens of Poland.

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1) This committee is composed of representatives from the following parties: The Conservative, The "Cracau-Party," The Catholic-National, The Polish, The Polish Democracy, The People's Parties, The Progressive-Democratic Party, and The Polish Socialist Party.

FROM THE POLISH PRESS

In its issue of the 5th of June, 1915, the Pan-Polish organ "Dwa Grosze" of Warsaw, tells of Jewish traders who especially importuned the soldiers at the Warsaw railroad stations; with the double purpose of "selling bad wares at high prices and of prying into what takes place in the trenches."

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The "Glos Polski," of Petrograd, wrote: "It must not be wondered at that the Germans while organizing in Poland an army of spies, avail themselves of the element which constitutes 12 per cent of the total population and which offers a goodly number of people who occupy themselves with the things mentioned and those of a kindred "delicate" nature. This especially, when account is taken of the fact that that element speaks a language which is nearer to classic German than lower German, (plattdeutsch). (Taken from "Yevreiskaya Nedyela," of Moscou, No. 5, June 21.)

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MR. NIEMOYEWski WRITES IN "MYSL NIEPODLEGLA:"

"The obvious sympathy of the Jews with the Prussian war of conquest found official confirmation in the warnings of the Army Staff, in the contributions exacted from the Jews for their services to the Germans (Pabyanitz), and finally in the established fact of increasing espionage of which we have read in the orders of the Governor-General of Galicia, Bobrinski." (Taken from the work "The Destruction of Russian Jewry," by Wl. Kossovsky. Published by the "Bund").

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The conservative "Czas," of Cracau, printed in its No. 393 an article by the deputy to the Gallician Assembly (Landtag), Dr. Hupka, wherein the Jews of Lemberg were accused that they had thrown flowers to the incoming Russian troops, on December 3, 1914, and kissed the horses of the Cossacks. This attitude on the part of the Lemberg Jews had called forth an anti-Semitic current in the Polish population.

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The German-Polish weekly "Poland," of Vienna, published by Dr. Ladislaus Leopold Ritter von Jaworski, the President of the Supreme Polish National Committee, wrote, in its issue of July 30, No. 31:

"The Russian Government has, as reported by Warsaw newspapers, upon evacuating the City of Warsaw, transported all the Polish Jews into the interior of Russia or to Siberia, whereas the Russian Jews alone, the so-called "Litwaki," were suffered to remain on their places. This exceptional benevolence clearly shows how rightly the Poles have estimated the position and role of these Jewish immigrant masses. The victims of grim persecution so long as they are in Russia proper, these "Litwaki" on Polish soil are looked upon by the Government as advocates of the Russian "culture." Hence their attitude toward Polish society."

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The "Deutsche Warschauer Zeitung" reprints from the "Dzien" (No. 236, Aug. 29.) an article on the Jewish Question in Poland under the caption: "The Jewish Poland." The article reads:

"There can be no doubt that in a cultural State all citizens, without distinction of race or religion, have an equal right to enjoy the benefits of the law, the Jews consequently, out of humane consideration cannot be curtailed therein.

The press commented on statements by a group of Jewish Nationalists to the effect that the Jewish element in Poland constitutes 46 per cent (?) of the general population. Such statements and the dream of a "Jewish Poland" will not avail at a time when the Polish Question is before the forum of European public opinion. First of all, the calculation is wrong, as the ethnographical Polish territories are inhabited by an overwhelming Polish majority, the Jews forming majorities in only a few small towns. Warsaw is a purely Polish city, and so is Lodz. The ratio of Jews is very small, 1) their increase during the last decade being due to the influx of Jews driven from Russia. In Germany, England, France, Italy, etc. where they are free to follow their Mosaic faith, the Jews consider themselves Germans, French, Englishmen etc. and to none of them did it occur to establish a Jewish Germany, a Jewish England, a Jewish France or a Jewish Italy.

Those Polish Jews who have become assimilated as a result of an enduring affiliation with Polish society, may be designated solely as Poles of the Hebrew persuasion, at least those of the educated classes. As to the lower, uneducated masses, they never thought of a "Jewish Poland." The latter idea made itself felt only in the minds of the Russian Jews who have promised the Russian Government through its institutions to Russianize Poland and have behaved in this land as Russians showing their Russian spirit on every occasion.

Anti-Semitism in Poland has an entirely different foundation than elsewhere. The Jews had come into our midst as a poor, oppressed, everywhere persecuted people and found here a peaceful habitat. They were permitted to erect undisturbed their communities in the towns and villages which had become depeopled through continual wars and Tartar invasions. So long as our land footed exclusively on agriculture, the Jews as adroit traders and middle-men, were a convenient element, they were useful. Later the conditions, economic as well as political, changed. When we saw ourselves compelled to take up industry and commerce the Jews considered our activity along those lines as inimical to them, as the expression of Jew-hatred, whereas the struggle for existence was our sole and only need.

Jews and Poles can live agreeably together in Poland, not in a Jewish Poland,— and that only when each Jew will renounce the idea of exploiting the land and will fulfill the duties imposed upon a good, loyal co-citizen of the fatherland.

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1) Compare the data and views of L. Wasilevki.

FROM AN ARTICLE IN THE WARSAW DAILY "GAZETA WARSZAWSKA"

Fifty-three years ago Land Marshal Wielopolski enacted a law (May 24, 1862) giving the Jews equality of right. The edict of the King of Saxon prohibiting (November 19, 1818) the Jews in the Duchy of Warsaw from acquiring land, as well as many other disabilities abridging the right of the Jews to acquire property in towns and to build houses, were abolished. The laws forbidding the Jews to live in certain towns, especially on the main streets of most of the Polish towns, were repealed. The restrictions of their settlement in villages or within the twelve-verst zone of the frontier territory were partly raised. Finally there were abolished the general disabilities affecting the admission of Jews as witnesses to notarial acts and at criminal law-suits in court. The offensive oath formula for the Jews was likewise discarded. In a word complete civil and social equality of the Jews.

Wielopolski has put up only one condition; namely, that the Jews refrain from using their own language and print in their civil life. In extending to them so many rights Wielopolski laid down only one limitation—that they shall give up their "Jargon."

Paragraph 7 of the above-mentioned edict reads: "No civil act, testament, contracts, promises, notes, accounts, books or commercial correspondence may be written in Hebrew or Yiddish or in any other language with Hebrew characters. Such instruments have no legal force."

Wielopolski labored under the false notion that the Jews, once given equal rights, will immediately accept the Polish tongue in preference to their German-Jewish dialect and will suspend their Germanizational activity. . . but the reality has grievously disappointed all these expectations. The Jews have not given up their Jargon—on the contrary, they claim for it the right of use in the schools and governmental institutions. Not alone the masses, the intellectuals speak Yiddish, the purpose being to boycott and get rid of the Polish language.

Meanwhile the above-named clause of the law of 1862, has lapsed into complete oblivion . . ."

In conclusion the author of the article calls upon the Russian Government to put a ban upon Yiddish and to stop all the Yiddish newspapers.

The Russian Government has actually suppressed the Jewish newspapers in Warsaw, the "Moment" and the "Haint" (in Yiddish), and the "Hatzefirah" (in Hebrew).

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FROM THE "GLOS POLSKI," OF PETROGRAD, (No. 18).

"The Central (Polish) Citizens' Committee (in Warsaw) has started with a noble activity: it organizes the return of Polish emigrants from America. There are more than four millions of Poles there. Optimists incline to the opinion that with a capital of a billion roubles, about a million Poles could be induced to come back to their homeland. Be that as it may, (Russian) Military Staff plans, and has partly

carried out some measures, to "thin" down the Jewish population of Poland. Such places, purged as they are of Jews, could easily be filled by the energetic and enterprising American Poles.

The Central Citizens' Committee has earnestly entered upon this plan, in that it has created a special "Foreign Section." We await the outcome of this activity with obvious interest."

In this regard the "Retch," of Petrograd, writes: To judge from this statement, the Central Citizens' Committee exists, not because millions of Poles in the country have been deprived of their means of livelihood and are in need of bread and shelter, but solely to present an opportunity to an additional million of Poles to settle amidst a suffering Polish population.

Is that not queer?"

The "Oppinia Zydowska," the organ of the Poles of Mosaic persuasion, remarks thereon:

"Still stranger is it that an institution designed to render help to the entire population without distinction of creed or nationality, should apprehend its task with reference to the Jews in such wise as to seek to fill the places of a part of the population temporarily driven from their homes by their "own" . . . With Poles from America. At that this institution bases its hopes on an expectation unworthy of an oppressed people: that the repression of the Jews will continue at a time which holds out to all other nationalities of the Empire the fulfilment of their most daring dreams."

FROM THE ARTICLE "JEWS AND POLES"

By GEORG BRANDES

("Politken," November 1914).

The leading men of Russian Poland who have been fighting the Jews since the beginning of this century,—in a secret manner, to avoid alienating the sympathies of European intellectual aristocracy now avail themselves of the election victory 1) imposed upon the Jews in order to throw down their mask and to come out as their open and passionate enemies.

1) In the first part of his article Brandes treats of the incidents of the last Warsaw elections to the Duma. In consequence of the Russian electoral census, the Jewish electorate were in the majority. The candidate of the Polish bourgeois parties, a "progressive," announced himself as unable to take the stand of Jewish civil equality under any conditions! A bill was then pending giving Poland municipal autonomy containing far-reaching restrictions for the Jews. The Jewish electors decided to vote for the candidate of the Polish Socialist Parties, the labor man Jagiello. The Jews would not take advantage of their opportunity to elect a Jew, for they constitute only 39 per cent of the general population, and desired to see Warsaw represented by a Pole. This dignified and tactful attitude of the Jewish electors who refused to follow an anti-Semitic candidate, gave recognition to the Polish character of the City of Warsaw, and at the same time helped elect a representative of hundreds of thousands of Polish proletarians is stigmatized by Mr. Leon Wasilewski as a "fatal political error." The Jews should have abstained from the ballot "leaving the decision in the hands of the Poles alone." Thus Mr. Wasilewski, and the Supreme Polish National Committee, wish that the Jews either elect without as much as a murmur an enemy of their political emancipation or give up the miserable remnant of their rights and refrain from exercising their suffrage, thereby assuring the election of that same enemy. "Political tact," as prescribed and demanded by Wasilewski and his kin, would thus have been nothing less than slavish submission on the part of the Warsaw Jews.

The Polish intellectuals have placed themselves at the head of this movement. Among them are prominent writers and outspoken freethinkers as Niemoyewski and even Alexander Swientochowski. Literary life knows of many transmutations, changes which by their fundamental character have nothing on Ovid. Much is needed to excite even the slightest degree of surprise in one who for fifty years has witnessed the lack of character in writers. However, I would have considered it impossible that I should live to see Alexander Swientochowski, the foremost opponent of nationalism, who has in his younger days suffered so much for his convictions at the head of the nationalistic movement. The author of Chawa Rubin—the leader of anti-Semites! Not alone what Alexander Swientochowski has written, cries out against him, but also his words, the powerful words he has spoken in his good days of yore.

The entire Polish press has rallied to the support of this movement. Young Poles have been placed near Jewish stores to molest the women and children of Christian persuasion coming to make their purchases. With the help of the notorious Dmowski there was founded a new daily, "Dwa Grosze," which invariably preached and incited to pogroms. It soon came to bloody deeds. In Siiska Street, Warsaw, an old Jew was murdered by Polish students. In the town of Welun Polish peasants poured oil on the house of a Jew and set it on fire burning alive a large family. Similar atrocities were perpetrated in various places till the Russian Government, to check the growth of Polish nationalism, put a stop to this pogrom movement.

The Polish priests in the villages incited from the pulpits to a boycott of and a war against the Jews. When the verdict in the Bellis ritual murder case became known, the Polish publications were almost the only ones which reported, in extra editions, the news that though Bellis had been freed, the existence of ritual murder had been sufficiently demonstrated! Aye, the freethinker Nemoyewski wrote a book in defence of that monstrous lie that Jewish ritual murder was a proved fact and toured the country making inflammatory speeches of the same nature.

Now during the war the bloodthirsty Jew-hatred has broken out anew with fresh vigor and the Russian Government has done nothing to stem or extinguish the conflagration.

During the mobilization several of the Polish papers, the "Glos Lubelski," too, printed in big black type the following item: "Great massacres of Jews in England. The Government interposes no obstacles." The lie was apparent, it was however especially concocted as an example to be followed.

The lack of gold and silver having made itself felt, the Polish newspapers accused the Jews of hiding the precious metals. A searching investigation disclosed the fact that many non-Jewish business men (for instance, the very wealthy Pole Ignaschewski of Lublin) had sacksful of gold and silver coins hidden, for which offence they were severely dealt with, whereas not a single Jewish case has been found.

All that was to serve as the preliminary to pogroms. The anti-Semites had a proclamation printed in Yiddish wherein the Jews were exhorted to uprising against Russia, and saw to it that copies were clandestinely put into the pockets of unsuspecting

Jews who were thereupon denounced before the proper authorities. Everyone who was found with the proclamation on him was shot.

Finally the Jews were, as in the Dark Ages, accused, orally as well as in print, of poisoning the wells. No sooner did a Russian soldier or Cossack die than the calumny would go forth that the Jews caused their death through the poisoning of the wells.

The chief accusation, was that of espionage which found general credence and was put in circulation whenever the Austrians occupied a town or village or, again, whenever the Russians succeeded in pushing back the Austrian troops. The result was invariably the same: a suitable number of Jews were conscientiously shot down.

By virtue of these calumnies and horrible charges, the pogroms have ever widened their dimensions until they have extended over large parts of Russian-Poland. Many hundreds of innocent people have fallen as victims.

The following are some of the facts:

In the town of Bychova which fell into the hands of the Austrians, the Polish leaders, amongst whom was a well-known landowner, have denounced the Jews to the Austrian commandant accusing them of a secret alliance with the Russian army. As a consequence, the Austrians killed the 67 year old Jew named Wallstein together with his 17 year old son. Shortly after that the Austrians were driven back, and the same landowner accused the Jews—to the Russian commandant—of their having connections with the Austrian army and that they had turned over to the latter all the food-stuffs lest they should fall into the hands of the Russians. As a result, many Jews were shot and their dwellings put to the torch.

In the towns of Yanow and Krasnik the Jews were charged with having laid mines for the destruction of the Russians. The Jews, among them many children, were strung up on telephone posts and both towns demolished.

The town of Samosch had been conquered by the Austro-Polish "Sokol"-Legions, those handsome, tall men whom no one can forget who has seen them at their exercises in the principal city of Galicia. Upon their being driven out by the Russian troops, the Polish inhabitants accused the Jews of the town that they had been zealous co-adjutors of the Austrians. Twelve Jews were arrested and sentenced to death. Five of them had been hung when in the midst of the bloody activity there appeared a Russian minister with the icon of the Virgin in his hand and swore, his hand on the sacred image, that the Jews were innocent and that the whole affair was the invention of Polish Jew-hatred. He proved that the Poles themselves had helped the Austrians that there even was a direct telephonic communication between them and Lemberg. The remaining seven Jews were thereupon released—the five were already dead.

At Jusefov the Jews were accused of having poisoned the wells and caused the death of hundreds of Cossacks. Seventy-eight Jews were then murdered, many women violated, houses and stores plundered.

Similar incidents have taken place in the hundreds and still continue to take

place every day. In the governments of Warsaw, Radom, Petrikov, Kielce there occurred pogroms attended by murder, rape, and plunder.

Only a few Russian governors, as, for instance, Korff of Warsaw, Kelepovski of Lublin as well as those of Wilna, Petrikov, and Grodno, have voiced a belated warning against the pogroms; but neither the Government nor the Poles take these warnings seriously.

Eye-witnesses have told of Jewish soldiers who went insane, not because of the inevitable horrors of war, but on account of the pogroms they witnessed in the places they marched through. In their delirium those unfortunates mistake their own near relatives for those who have fallen prey to murder or violence resulting in death. They believe that they see before them their own mothers or sisters or sweethearts in the grip of the human beasts. Their fancy constantly pictures to them the same scenes. . . .

* * * * *

DECLARATION OF THE JEWISH SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY POALE ZION OF A U S T R I A .

The liberation of Galicia from the Russian invasion and the victorious advance of the Austro-Hungarian and Galician troops into Russian-Poland, have in their manifold political effects once again brought into prominence the question of regulating the Jewish-Polish relations. The necessity for a new view-point in this problem so accentuated by the events accompanying the war, has become apparent. The question has become a political issue of universal importance.

While not a voice has yet been heard from amidst the closely affected Jewish masses, a group of Galician "Poles of Mosaic persuasion" have come out with a statement which appeared in the issue 28, of July the 9th, 1915, of the weekly "Poland" published at Vienna. This manifesto of a small coterie of Galician Jewish assimilationists has been declared by that magazine to be the expression of all Galician Jewry. The undersigned find themselves compelled to take vigorous exception to that misleading statement and to make clear their own point of view in this question.

In accordance with the fundamental and unshakable principle of the Socialist - International and in keeping with the ideals of socialism, we hold it to be the right of every people to full national freedom and unabridged self-determination. From this angle of vision we look out upon the struggle for liberty waged by our neighbors. Being ourselves the children of an oppressed people doomed to the life of a minority, we are capable of estimating this struggle at its full and true worth. Our sympathy runs the deeper because the fight is directed against our mutual enemy, against the blood-stained Government of the Czar for whose overthrow and destruction the Jewish proletariat has brought so many precious sacrifices.

In making this unreserved declaration, we must at the same time emphatically and solemnly warn against this struggle and its successful end being the solution of the Jewish question in Poland.

In contrast with the traditions of the free Poland of old which in its heyday extended to the Jews the widest national rights and autonomous powers, the weakened and dismembered Poland of our days has fallen short of its glorious past. Even the most progressive elements of the Polish people refuse to acknowledge the right of the Jews to live as a nation and demand of the Jewish masses the unconditional surrender of their entity and their complete submission to the will and culture of the Polish environment. While acting thus in defiance of the principle of national self-determination which lies at the basis of their own fight for a free Poland, they protest to be championing the cause of human equality so misapprehended.

The awakening of the Jewish masses of East Europe to their national consciousness, which is a natural, historically determined, process, has not found in the entire Polish people, save a few exceptions, the slightest understanding, nay, not even the desire to perceive and to seriously consider this new spirit which comes everywhere to light where Jews reside in large numbers.

The anti-Semitic movement in Poland has followed upon the appearance of a Polish commercial class which see in the Jewish merchants, the first and oldest representatives of trade in Poland, their strong competitors. This movement refrains from no means to undermine economically the Jewish population and shrinks from no effort to deprive the Jews of civil rights.

The friendly intercourse between the two nations has been marred by ever growing obstacles. Influential parties of Polish bourgeois classes have by irresponsible, demagogic politics poisoned the minds of a large section of the Polish population with a deep hatred of the Jews which knows no bounds and which continues to widen the chasm between the two peoples. In spite of this ever growing conflict, the method of the Polish press and publicists has not altered in the treatment of the Jewish question. The same light-mindedness, the same ignoring of facts, the same lack of clear vision. The rapidly developing Jewish press was met with scorn and disdain. The Jewish literature which, though young, attained a high plane and won a name for itself in Europe through several of its representatives, was completely ignored, as was the marked cultural rise of the Jewish masses within the last decades.

It must be admitted that not a little of the pernicious work estranging the two nations is directly traceable to the Jewish assimilationists who posed as the only intermediaries between the Jewish and Polish communities and thereby helped raise the wall between the two.

For decades there has yawned an almost unbridgeable chasm between that small group of the Jewish plutocracy and the masses of the Jewish people. The Jewish masses in Poland have always felt and acted as a united national minority banded together through language, custom, history, and culture, whereas the wealthy few loosening the ties of tradition have preached assimilation, national suicide, absorption in the dominant majority. The assimilationists usurped control of Jewish institutions by way of an electoral census, leaving the masses the victims of industrial dislocation and cultural poverty and reducing them to mere tools for the suppression of national minorities.

The first advocates of socialism in the Jewish labor world were intellectuals who sprang from the capitalist class and who were imbued with its ideas and its theory of assimilation. True, they failed to influence the Jewish masses in an enduring manner. However, they, too, along with the Jewish plutocracy, bear the responsibility for the fact that the Polish laboring masses gained a false conception of Jewish life which has become the source of grievous misunderstandings between the Jewish proletariat and that of the Polish people.

Thus the line between the Jewish and Polish population grew ever wider and deeper. Russian Poland especially has become the breeding soil of Polish anti-Semitism. Under the pretext of combating the "Litwaki," the economic boycott of the Jews was made into a national commandment. The industrial antagonism which exists also in Galicia and which tends to the ruin of the Jewish middle classes and swells enormously the flow of emigration, would never have attained the dimensions of an organized violent boycott had not the ground been prepared therefor by the anti-Semitic propaganda of influential Polish parties and by the egregious lie of assimilation carefully nurtured for decades

The Lithuanian Jews have maliciously been declared as the willing agents of the Czar's Russianizing policy in spite of their being the victims of Imperial oppression and notwithstanding the fact that they came to Poland in comparatively small numbers in quest of economic opportunity and there largely contributed to the productivity and rapid industrial growth of the land. That people fleeing from oppression should see their mission in upholding the culture of their tyrants on foreign soils, sounds like a cruel joke; and yet all Polish parties found common ground in their fight against the unfortunate "Litwaki"—a term, by the way, which gradually expanded to embrace the Polish as well as the Russian Jews.

When the war broke out, the Jews of Galicia grasped the opportunity to give expression to their feeling of solidarity with the Poles. Nevertheless, the Jews of Russian Poland found themselves the centre of a storm of hatred terrifying in its proportions. The widely read and powerful Polish press has deliberately instigated a campaign against the Jews spreading wild rumors, giving rise to senseless charges and shameless denunciations and systematically nourishing the legend of Jewish treachery. The suspicion against the Jews in the army and the civil population assumed an alarming character, and the Russian Military seized upon this welcome pretext to expose the Jews to the most savage persecution. The Polish press openly expressed its deep gratification at the appropriation by Polish neighbors of the business places of the expelled Jews. The lower elements of the Polish population have done what they could to help the wild hordes of Cossacks.

When, therefore, in the face of such indisputable facts, the documentary evidence for which is in our possession, the authors of that famous "manifesto" declare: "Even the anti-Semitic party has neither in its platform nor in its political propaganda sought to provoke excesses against the Jews and we know (sic!) of no cases in which the Polish riffraff themselves were guilty of anti-Jewish pogroms"—it is on the face of it a palpable lie, a monstrous pervasion of the truth.

We are far from laying the crimes of the scum of the Polish people at the doors of the whole nation. We cannot, however, close our eyes upon the fact that many of the Polish intellectuals, an uncannily large section of the Polish press and Polish leaders considered it expedient at this time of the dreadful war to unleash all the furies of Jew-hatred. We cannot silently pass by the fact that the Jews of Russian Poland enmeshed as they now are in a net of calumnies and denunciations, feel the burden of their bitter cruel fate a thousand times heavier.

These and similar considerations impel us to enter our most emphatic protest against the signers of the above-mentioned statement who undertook the contemptible work of whitewashing Polish anti-Semitism and of strengthening Polish society in its dangerously wrong position with regard to the most vital matters of Jewish national life.

At the same time we desire to make it clear, that the artificially erected wall between Poles and Jews notwithstanding, and in spite of the universal resentment called forth from the Jews the world over by the hostile Polish policy, the Jewish proletariat of Galicia is actuated by a profound desire for an amicable and peaceable intercourse with all the other nationalities of the land. Not estrangement on both sides, but peace and productive co-operation, is our motto. The undersigned see the opportunity for a healthy and free development of Poland in the freedom for development of all nationalities inhabiting the country.

Lasting peace between the Jewish and the Polish peoples is possible only when the large Jewish minority will be accorded not alone civil equality, but also political equality and autonomy in its national affairs. The Jews of Poland are not satisfied with civil equality based on an enforced national disintegration. Relying upon their numbers, their economic importance and the growth of their culture, the Jewish people demand the complete assurance of their national rights. A liberated Poland will only prosper as an internally free Poland, founded upon the principles of democracy and the national freedom of all the peoples of the land.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE

JEWISH SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY POALE ZION OF AUSTRIA.

Vienna, August, 1915.

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DECLARATION OF THE "BUND" ORGANIZATIONS IN POLAND

Published as proclamation in January, 1915.

Reproduced in the "Bulletin of Information," No. 8, of the Bund's Foreign Committee.

The relations between the Jews and Poles had been strained even before the war. After the outbreak of hostilities they become still worse. The uninterrupted anti-Semitic propaganda of the national-democratic scribes became a veritable orgy.

The Russian army demoralized by the authorities and accustomed to treat the Jews as pariahs without the pale of the law, found cultivated soil on the Polish front. The local Jew haters lent a brotherly hand to the newcomers. The bloody work began. The "army of liberation" perpetrated unheard-of atrocities upon the

peaceable Jewish population. Old men, women and even children were not spared. From the depths of the usual terrors of war bringing desolation in its wake for all the people, there rise in appalling relief the sufferings of the Jews occasioned by their specific conditions of life in Russia and Poland.

There is yet another reason why the war has put to the front the Polish-Jewish problem. The war has brought the Polish Question into sharper relief. The famous declaration of the Chief-Commander of the Russian military forces has apparently opened a new way for the adjustment of the Russian-Polish entangled relations.

... The national-democratic clique and those who follow it, had in ordinary times taken no account of Russian public opinion preferring the benevolence of the Government. This time, however, they perceived that it were bad politics to leave Russian public opinion out of consideration: there is no telling what the future might bring, the opposition might perhaps come into power. And so the well-tried policy was seized upon. On the one hand, shameful denial of universally known facts about the practical conduct of the Poles towards the Jews; on the other hand, the refusal to make any explanations whatsoever in the matter under the pretext of the inadmissibility of foreign intervention "in our internal affairs."

Behind the National Democrats came up the so-called "Postempowcy," the Polish progressives. True, they do not stoop to deny the disgraceful attitude of Polish society and its official institutions toward the Jews. They, however, seek for all possible reasons to extenuate their culpability. Granting ostensibly the justness of the Jewish demands, they go the way of the National Democrats in vehemently opposing the exertion of outside influence upon the Polish-Jewish relations.

. . . This decided stand against outside interference has been taken also by the Polish Jewish assimilationists, those "Poles of the Hebrew persuasion." "We stand in no need of outside help," they say, "for our protection; our Polish fellow citizens will do us no harm in the future. For the present we have no claims at all to advance." Duties without rights, that is the political wisdom of those sycophants.

While laying bare the double-dealing of the Polish capitalist parties of all shades and pillorying the undignified and politically senseless attitude of the Polish-Jewish assimilationists, we at the same time take this occasion to protest in the most vigorous manner against the attempts of various Jewish nationalists in Poland and in Russia to take advantage of outside influences to the detriment of the Polish people.

Our position, that of a social-democratic party of the Jewish proletariat, is obvious. . . . Howsoever the events may range themselves, our basic political demands remain the same.

We demand a thoroughgoing democratization of all the forms of the social and political system in Poland, irrespective of its possible territorial boundaries and its international position, and cultural-national autonomy as a reliable assurance of the national rights of the Jewish people, as well as of each national minority.

We see in the fulfilment of this our demand the right solution of the Polish-Jewish question. insofar as it is possible under the capitalistic system. In the struggle for the

attainment of our liberty, we, Jewish proletarians, do call for the help, consequently the "intervention," of outside forces. Our appeal is directed to the oppressed masses in general. Our appeal for "intervention" is addressed to the international solidarity of the Polish and Russian proletariat together with whom we contend for the realization of our mutual ideals.

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RESOLUTION

Adopted at the Mass Meeting in Cooper Union Hall, New York, on May 6, 1915.

Despite the hostile attitude towards the Jews of a large part of the Polish population, Polish organizations, and the Polish press,—a hostility which has found expression in the boycott of the Russian-Polish Jews, in the suppression of the Galician Jews, in the calumnies and denunciations against the Jews in the war-stricken territory, in military massacres, and in brutal persecution and expulsions.

Despite the bitterness and deep mortification which this attitude has given rise to in the minds of the Jews throughout the world.

We are nevertheless, far from identifying the entire Polish nation with the reactionary forces and chauvinistic elements or altering our course of active sympathy with the struggle of the Polish people for its liberty, restoration and independence.

We state at the same time that the Polish parties refuse to extend to the Jews the assurances of a national existence and that they purpose to build the liberty of Poland upon the suppression of the rights of nationalities and upon an enforced assimilation of the Jewish minority numbering three million souls. The refusal to recognize the Jewish national rights makes nugatory the avowed intention of the Poles to assure civil equality to the Jews. For the systematic propaganda of the Polish parties against the recognition of the Jewish national rights, is largely responsible for the deepened hatred of the Jews and has fertilized the ground for the campaign of destruction now being waged against the three millions of Polish Jews.

We persist in the belief that a lasting peace between Jews and Poles must be predicated upon the accordance to the Jews in the future free Poland, not alone of civil equality, but of politico-national equality at elections, in county and city government, and of national rights in the communal affairs, language and school, as well as self-government in all internal Jewish matters.

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THE SITUATION OF THE JEWS IN RUSSIAN POLAND OCCUPIED BY THE AUSTRIAN ARMIES.

Statement of Baron von Diller, governor-general of the provinces occupied by Austria, made to a military correspondent and published in the "Son-und Montagszeitung" of Vienna, September 27, 1915. Reprinted in "Polen," No. 41, October 8, 1915.

A great part of my work is given over to the help of the war victims. I expend in the neighborhood of 20,000 Kr. per month in each district and I endeavor to have the Christian as well as the Jewish relief committees participate in this work. As to the Jews, I must add that their condition has been greatly aggravated by reason of the paralyzed small commerce. Moreover, I am not authorized to permit them free movement in the country, that which was forbidden them under Russian rule."

Extract from an interview with the governor-general Baron von Diller as appeared in "A Vilag" of Budapest, cited by "Polen," No. 48, February 4, 1916.

"I can affirm that the confidence in us is increasing daily while the belief in the return of the Russians disappears more and more. The population is beginning to enjoy the advantages of our administration. Our political economy, the use of the Polish language, the practical forms of autonomy,—these are the most important elements. The Ruthenian minority offers no obstacles, for religious instruction is given in the Ruthenian tongue.

There is always much more trouble with the Jews. The cultural level of these Jews is much inferior to that of the Galician. They create unrest in the population by all sorts of frightening news in order to obtain from the peasants their produce at the lowest price. They also deal in contraband with the part of Poland under German rule.

The nationalism of the Jews is of a reserved nature and lays claim to national rights for the jargon which has no juridic foundation whatsoever and which from the practical point of view admits of no defence. However, by according to all absolutely equal civil rights, good results will be attained in this case, too.

Extract from remarks by lieutenant-colonel Hausner, chief of the General Staff of Austrian Government. Published in "Dziennik Narodowy," cited after "Polen," No. 46, November 12, 1915.

With regard to the Jews, we treat them as in Austria. As is well known, the Jewish nationality is not recognized in Austria. In this question we recognize no peculiarities. We, of course, accord the Jews full equality, and their faith cannot be made the motive for their exclusion from the exercise of civil rights. We know no Jewish language; the jargon cannot be considered as such in public life. With respect to the present situation, we have maintained special Jewish schools, but the study therein of the Polish language is compulsory. The Jewish registers are equally kept in the Polish tongue.

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STATEMENT OF THE AUSTRIAN CHIEF COMMANDER.

Extract from a communique of the military press bureau on the reception by the Austrian army chief Archduke Frederick of a delegation of the Central Austrian Committee for the protection of the civil rights of the Jewish population in the northern part of the military zone.

"The Chief Commander who received the delegation with respect and manifested throughout the interview a lively interest even in the details of the questions at issue

warmly expressed his recognition of the patriotism shown by the Jewish population of Galicia and the Bukovina. He did not omit to mention in terms of sympathy their sufferings during the Russian occupation.

The Archduke stated that in conformity with the Hague Convention the occupied territory must remain administered in accordance with Russian law, but that the Military Government had nevertheless proclaimed, on March 7, 1915, the basic equality of all the religions recognized in Austria-Hungary. This measure has been in force since then. In this instance advantage was taken of the authorization accorded by the jurisdiction of war (art. 43) applying to cases where it is found impossible to exercise the law of the land in occupied territory. This impossibility was indeed encountered by the Austro-Hungarian military administration in the exceptional measures against a certain religious group." * * * * *

"YUDISCHE ZEITUNG," VIENNA, No. 27, JULY 7, 1916.

The newspaper "Mysl Zydowska" announces that the Commanding Officer of the Kholm district had issued the following decree:

"Since the Jewish population propagates, for purposes of speculation, disquieting rumors about the military movements, the commander of the district gives hereby public notice that whoever will be found culpable, will be severely dealt with and that, moreover, the Jewish community will be subjected to a contribution of 25,000 Kr." * * * * *

"CZAS," KRAKAU, No. 345, JULY 11, 1916.

The following order was issued at Kholm:

The Military Command I. & R. of the district announces by the decree of June the 26th that cases of transgression have accumulated against the prohibition to voyage without permit, as issued by the Gendarmerie I. & R. with reference to the Jewish population. We remind the mayor of the community of the interdict in question and order to have the following made known in the community as well as in the villages and suburbs appertaining thereto:

"The inhabitants of the Mosaic persuasion are not permitted, till further notice, to leave the confines of their present habitat. In exceptional cases travel from one place to another, by vehicle or on foot, may be granted but only upon special permission by the Command I. & R. of the district or the Gendarme post I. & R., which permission may be obtained in case of sudden and urgent necessity as, for instance, in case of illness demanding prompt and immediate medical aid or to deliver products for the army etc.

Whoever will disobey this order or will be found outside his place of abode without permission shall, not only be severely punished, but shall be forcibly impressed for a long time into one of the working companies. It is hereby simultaneously announced that Leizer Sher and Samuel Sherz of Wojslawic, have by official judgment on June 26, 1916, been fined with 20 Kr. or imprisonment for four days because of travelling without permission. In cases of repeated transgression the punishment will be porportionately increased."

III.

Turkey and the Jews

The Decree Against Zionism

(Announced through the Hebrew daily "Hacheruth," of Jerusalem, No. 98, January, 1915.)

"To the management of "Hacheruth," Jerusalem. You are hereby requested to translate literally and publish textually the following:

The Government in combating the activity of the revolutionary element who intend to establish in the Palestinian part of the Ottoman Empire a Jewish state under the name of "Zionism" and who may thus bring harm to their own nationals, has ordered the confiscation of the stamps, the Zionist banners, the paper money, the bank-notes of the Anglo-Palestine Company under the form of checks, and the rest of the things pertaining to those elements, and has proclaimed the dissolution of all the Zionist associations and organizations which existed secretly.

We have been apprised that some intriguers guided by a bad and base aspiration maliciously falsify the facts stating that the edict has been directed against all of the Jews. Nothing is so clear as that the order has nothing to do with those Jews who are in hearty alliance with us being, together with us, the children of our country and enjoying equal rights, and who will ever remain, with the help of God, our fellow citizens. The decree promulgated is aimed exclusively at the ideas, acts, and organizations of the Zionists. As regards all the other Jewish citizens of our country who have nothing in common with the destruction and revolution of that sort, we ask that they be as peaceable as heretofore. We, Ottomans in general, are from the bottom of our hearts the friends and fellow citizens of all the Jews living in our midst. It is only Zionism and the Zionists, that destructive element aspiring to the creation of a state in our country, and all other such groups which entertain such phantastic aspirations, that we are against and will ever remain the enemies of.

The 8th of Canun 11, of the year 1330.

Signed: Beha Addin.

Attache of the Staff of the 4th Army, Department of Information.

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OPEN LETTER OF MOSHE FRANCO, HAHAM-BASHI AT JERUSALEM

Printed in the Hebrew daily "Hacheruth," February, 1915. *

To His Excellency Midhad Bey, Governor of Jerusalem:

I avail myself of the opportunity to express my lively gratification at the arrival of Your Excellency whose personality is ample assurance for a just and equitable exercise of the functions of your High Office, and take this occasion to bring to the attention of Your Excellency a matter of importance to my co-religionists whose interests I am under the obligation and in duty bound to protect as the officially recognized Haham Bashi of Jerusalem.

For centuries we have lived under the protection of the exalted Turkish sovereignty, enjoying—in freedom and peace—the full rights of citizenship accorded to us on an equal basis with all the other subjects of the Empire. We have always felt ourselves true sons of our dear fatherland and blessed the Almighty for having placed us under the protecting shield of such a government.

Unfortunately, things have of late occurred which we could never have expected, things that tend to cast a shadow upon the honor of my people in the estimation of our fellow citizens, and to subject them to a suspicion wholly unworthy of them. That can never be in keeping with the spirit of brotherhood and equality inscribed in letters of gold upon the banner of the Sublime Porte.

A decree has been promulgated prohibiting correspondence in the Hebrew language, whereas all other nationalities of the country are at liberty to make use of their tongues (as Armenian, Greek etc.) nay, they are even permitted to write in the languages of the belligerent nations.

Prominent Jewish financial institutions which contributed so much to relieve the recent crisis, have been closed, thereby causing suffering not alone to the entire Jewry of the land, but also to sections of other citizens.

What pains us most, however, is to witness how orders are issued and statements made and published against us, nay, even how our institutions and private dwellings are searched without once hesitating to arrest and even to imprison some of the prominent members of our community. Such procedure tending, as it does, to show the other citizens that there is grave suspicion of treason against a part of the Jewish population—namely, the Zionists—lowers the dignity of the entire Jewry in their eyes and must eventually give rise to the view that with reference to the Jews everything is permissible.

As the spiritual leader of my community, I cannot refrain from voicing my energetic protest against this manner of treatment. The other leaders of the community, as well as myself, are intimately acquainted with all that takes place in Jewish life, and we can with a clear conscience declare solemnly before the entire world that our people are absolutely far from harboring even the slightest degree of ani-

*) The letter had its effect and the order was immediately rescinded.

mosity toward the Government and that it would be extremely repulsive to our people to countenance any secret action or conspiracy against the welfare of the Government. We all of us, young or old, native or immigrant, are sincerely and loyally devoted to our country and we all, without any exception, desire from the depths of our hearts the happiness and victory of our State. We pray to God that we may forever remain the children of this our country and serve its interests as true citizens.

If the Government finds it expedient to prohibit or suppress certain things, it is evident that all my co-nationals will submit to it without a murmur, and will take it upon themselves loyally and carefully to carry out all ordinances. If, again, the Government finds it advisable to resort to search and inquest, we can only be too glad to welcome it, knowing as we do that our conduct is pure and above reproach. But all that could have been achieved in a quiet manner, without depriving of their liberty the incriminated persons.

For this reason I consider it my duty as Haham Bashi who is alike responsible to the community and the Government, to address myself to Your Excellency, as to the highest government official of our province with whom rests the responsibility for the order and peace thereof, with the following request: that it be made known to the proper authorities that they abstain henceforth from all action injurious to the honor of the Jews and capable of exciting the minds. After all the whole thing is about matters which had always been publicly carried on with the best of intentions and perfectly known to the Government which saw no reason for interference.

The exigency of the present times especially demands this, for the best interests of the country which needs more than ever internal peace and unity. Upon this foundation of unanimity in thought and action, we will all be in the best position lovingly and loyally to work for the welfare of the fatherland and to contribute to its victory over its enemies. Our Government will then emerge from this war with increased splendor, big and powerful, truly worthy of the glorious name "Osmanlis," in commemoration of the great and celebrated Osman Khan the Victorious.

I am, with most profound consideration,

MOSHE FRANCO, HAHAM-BASHI of Jerusalem.

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P R O C L A M A T I O N

Published (in Arabic) in Galilee, on February, and in Jaffa, on March, 1915.

I have learned that diverse rumors have been set abroad to the effect that our brethren, the Ottoman Jews living in Palestine, do not fulfil their national duties and that their sentiments run counter to those of the other Ottomans.

Since all such rumors are contrary to the truth and harmful, I do order with all the vigor at my command that these false reports about our brethren the Jews shall be completely repudiated. These lying statements about our Jewish compatriots who have in such marked fashion signalized their fidelity and attachment to the

country, deeply offend the Ottoman heart and spirit. Those responsible for circulating such calumnious reports, will be dealt with, with all the severity of the law.

Signed: DJEMAL-PASHA

Secretary of the Navy and Commander-in-Chief of the Fourth Army.

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**RESOLUTIONS OF THE SIXTH CONVENTION OF THE JEWISH SOCIAL-
DEMOCRATIC LABOR PARTY (POALE ZION) OF PALESTINE.**

Held on the 14th and 15th of Nissan 5670, March, 1910.

1.) Our Maximal Program:

The Jewish Social-Democratic Labor Party (Poale Zion) of Palestine seeks the abolition of class domination in human society, the taking over by the people themselves of the means of production and the establishment of the Socialist system.

2.) Our National Ideals:

An economically independent, compact Jewish colonization in Palestine.

3.) Our Proletarian Minimal Program:

The strengthening of the economic condition of Jewish labor in Palestine, the stabilization of its class struggle, the elevation of its social position, its healthy development and numerical growth.

4.) The Work of the Party:

For the attainment of its objects the party occupies itself

a) With industrial activity; such as, building up trade unions, mixed labor associations, workmen's loan associations, and cooperative societies.

b) With the regulation of labor immigration through specially created institutions and in conjunction with other establishments of the same nature;

c) With the organization of workmen's groups for cooperative colonization;

d) With the technical training and general education of the workers through lectures, schools, clubs, etc.;

e) The Party recognizes the value of physical training and establishes non-partisan gymnasiums, chiefly for workers;

f) The Party publishes labor literature in Hebrew, as well as in the other languages of the Jewish masses;

g) The Party engages in domestic and general political activity.

A. Domestic Policy. The Party works for the democratization of the Jewish communities. It participates, for this purpose, in the communal elections of the towns and colonies.

B. General Policy. 1) Turkey as a state composed of different nationalities, must accord complete autonomy to all the nationalities thereof, as well as the equality and the unabridged freedom of the language which each people recognizes as its own.

The Government shall encourage the immigration of Jews into Palestine and their naturalization as Ottoman citizens.

III. Universal, equal, direct, and secret ballot for all representative bodies: Parliament, National Assemblies of the individual peoples, County Boards, and City Councils.

IV. Absolute freedom of unionization and strike for the workers.

V. Full liberty of opinion, religion, speech, press, and assembly.

VI. Labor laws protecting the interests of the working class.

VII. Secular school study in the national mother-tongue.

Concerning the Language.

The Party considers Hebrew as the national language of the Jews, furthers its propagation in Palestine and Turkey and demands the official recognition of the Hebrew language by the Government and society.

The Party at the same time carries on its propaganda in the other vernaculars of the Jewish masses in Turkey (Yiddish, Arabic, and Judeo-Spanish).

Concerning Our Tactics.

a) Together with the Zionist organizations, we take part in the institutions designed to advance Jewish colonization in Palestine and to ameliorate the political and cultural conditions of the Jews, insofar as those institutions do not essentially conflict with the interests of the working class.

b) We cooperate, in social politics, with all those elements who champion the cause of Jewish democracy and of Jewish organization in Palestine.

c) In our Socialist work, we unite with those elements who stand for international solidarity. Our aim is the union of the Socialist parties of Turkey into an international federation.

IV.

The Jewish Proletariat in its Struggle for National Emancipation

RESOLUTION.

Adopted at the Eighth Convention of the Jewish Socialist Labor Party Poale Zion of America, held at Rochester, N. Y., on December 24-30, 1914.

THE WAR AND THE JEWS.

1. The world war with its stupendous destruction of treasure and life, is the most monstrous crime against humanity committed by the dominant classes in their greed for world dominion and the exploitation of the weaker nations.

The Jewish people, whose youth are being sacrificed in the armies of all the belligerent countries, and which is born down by the greatest economic catastrophe in Russia, Poland, Galicia, Bukovina, and Palestine, is, as a whole, not interested in the awful fight of nations. The Jewish people sheds rivers of blood without the assurance that it brings sacrifices for its own salvation and that its demands will be heard and its rights recognized at the reconstruction of international relationships upon the close of the war.

2. The condition of the Jews in Russia is an indelible stain upon civilized humanity. While half a million Jewish soldiers give their lives and millions of Jews risk their existence for Russia's international position, the Government treats the Jews worse than pariahs. It does not even accord them the right of leaving the Pale of Settlement to save their very lives. The Convention declares all assurances that this war is waged for the deliverance of small nations a cruel mockery, so long as the rudimentary human rights of the Jews in Russia are trampled under the feet.

3. The Convention raises its most vigorous protest against the unheard-of calumnies and denunciations of Polish organizations and the press, which have led to organized pogroms against the Jews, and consider them as the upshot of the economic and cultural campaign of destruction carried on by the Polish parties for the last few years against the Jewish people in Poland.

The systematic propaganda on the part of Polish society against the national rights of the Jewish minority runs counter to all the good traditions of former independent Poland and can only tend to weaken morally the struggle of the Polish nation for its liberty and self-government.

4. At this critical moment in history, the Jewish people must exert all their energy toward the attainment of civil and national rights for the Jews of Eastern Europe. In case of a united and autonomous Poland, the national rights of the Jews in the community, school, language, county and city governments, as well as the right of self-government in all national affairs, must be internationally guaranteed.

Whatever may be the political consequences of the war for Palestine and its adjacent territories, the Convention considers it one of the chief tasks of Jewish policy to secure for the Jews there freedom of immigration and colonization, of school and language, as well as self-government in communal and national matters.

5. The Convention holds it its duty to raise its voice at this tragic moment to warn the entire Jewish people, and particularly the Jewry of America, that the only security for our vital interests being acted upon at the Peace Conference lies in a strong, well-ordered organization and in the proper representation of the Jewish people.

It is the duty of all Jewish organizations, particularly of the Jewish labor organizations and the Zionist movement, to see to it that the Jewish people is not left without a legitimate representation at the Peace Congress after the war.

For this purpose the Convention resolves that the Jewish Socialist Labor Party Poale Zion of America shall endeavor with all the power at its command to impress upon the entire Jewish democracy of America without distinction of party the urgent need for united action. The initiative for the creation of a legitimate representation of the Jewish people at the Peace Deliberations, shall be vested in a general American-Jewish Congress. The Convention instructs the Central Committee of the Party to exert its influence for the speedy calling of such a Jewish Congress whose object shall be to take proper action in behalf of the civil and national emancipation of the Jews of Eastern Europe and Palestine.

6. The Convention expresses its profound regret that the Socialist International Organization has at this terrible world crisis proven incapable of action. The socialists of all lands who could not prevent the universal slaughter, are at least in duty bound to utilize all means to bring about an early peace based on a just and lasting solution of the National Question, which has been one of the contributing causes of this war. The Convention hopes that the socialists of all lands will extend their brotherly support to the Jewish proletariat in its struggle for the national rights of the Jewish people. It is essential that the renovated Socialist Internationale shall extend to the Jewish proletariat an independent representation, and the Convention gives utterance to its conviction that the fulfilment of the demand of the Jewish Socialist Labor Confederation Poale Zion for a Jewish Section in the Socialist Internationale cannot be delayed.

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RESOLUTION OF THE JEWISH NATIONAL LABOR CONVENTION OF AMERICA

Held on September 5-7, 1915, at Beethoven Hall, New York. 1)

The frightful condition of the Jews in the belligerent countries, the atrocious disabilities, the shameful suspicions, the cruel expulsions from entire provinces, the pogroms and massacres while hundreds of thousands of Jewish soldiers valiantly shed their blood in the armies of all the contending nations, the distress, the torments and the misery of millions of our brethren, call upon us American Jews for a speedy and energetic action in behalf of Jewish equality in all lands where the Jews are limited in their rights.

The object of such action must be twofold. It must direct the public opinion of America and Europe to the Jewish question, arouse a voice of resentment and protest on the part of all progressive elements of the civilized world, and keep informed the press of America and other countries on the conditions of the Jews, thereby breaking down the wall of silence surrounding the terrible Jewish sufferings. On the other hand, steps must be taken to impress upon the American Government and the official representatives of the American people to throw the weight of America's influence at the Peace Congress after the war in behalf of Jewish rights. We must also enlist the cooperation of the Socialist International Organization, as well as of similar institutions.

It is obvious that the effect of such action will be in proportion to the masses of Jews united thereon. The representatives of the Jewish-American workingmen, consider it, therefore, desirable and necessary to join hands with all other classes, groups and parties of the Jewish people for purposes of united action in behalf of the Jewish rights.

The Workmen's National Convention is aware of the fact that different sections of the Jewish people have different views on the Jewish Question and its solution and that these views are the cause of divergence between the Jewish parties. It is, however, the conviction of the Convention that at the present moment concerted action on a common platform is possible.

This platform is: civil, political and national rights for the Jews wherever those rights are denied them.

This platform is of negative and positive nature. Negatively it means: Abolition of all the disabilities obtaining in various countries against the social, economic and cultural life of the Jews. Such disabilities are numerous and diversified; as for instance: the Pale of Settlement and the proportionate school norm in Russia; the restrictions upon the use of the Jewish vernacular in Galicia; the non-recognition of Jews as citizens in Roumania; the limitations upon immigration into Palestine and

1) The following organizations with a total membership of 350,000 men and women were represented: The United Hebrew Trades, The Workmen's Circle, The Jewish National Workers' Alliance of America, The Jewish Socialist Labor Party, Poale Zion, The Jewish Socialist Federation (S. P. Section), The Socialist-Territorialist Organization, and The "Forward" Association.

acquisition of real property therein, etc.—the whole and long range of Jewish legal disabilities.

Positively, it means: the creation of such constitutionally recognized and internationally assured institutions as will make possible the national self-determination and unhindered national development of the Jewish people in the lands of Russia, Austro-Hungary, Roumania, Palestine etc.

This platform comprises demands contained in the programs of all Jewish national parties and organizations and can unite them all at this great historical moment. Points not recognized by all parties are excluded.

The Palestine question may be considered by a general Jewish body solely within the limits of the above-described platform.

The Workmen's National Convention, therefore, instructs its executive to take part in a conference of national Jewish organizations which shall issue the call for a general Jewish Congress of democratically elected representatives from local organizations. The delegates of the National Workmen's Committee to that conference shall vote for a congress with a platform conforming to this resolution.

Summarizing the above-given considerations, conscious of the necessity to unite, not to disrupt, all Jewish forces for the attainment of the Jewish rights, the Convention declares: that,

1.) Concerted action of the organized Jewish working class in alliance with other groups and sections of the Jewish people, is possible on the basis of a platform capable of bringing together most of the Jewish elements. Such Congress shall be of democratically elected representatives from Jewish local organizations.

2.) The platform of the Congress must read: civil, political, and national self-determination for the Jews of all lands, where they are restricted in their rights. The more comprehensive definition of the demand for national rights and national autonomy is left to the Jews of the respective lands, such as Russia, Galicia, Roumania, Palestine etc.

In case the Conference of the national Jewish bodies should not accept our program, the Workmen's National Committee will not participate in the Congress and will withdraw from the Conference. Each constituent organization of the Committee is in such case free to act in conformity with its own views and principles.

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**RESOLUTION OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE OF
JEWISH LABOR ORGANIZATIONS IN ENGLAND.**

Held on September 12, 1915, at Leeds. 1)

The Jewish proletariat as part of a people which has the most to lose through this war, because of its abnormal national, political, and economic conditions, is filled with the ardent desire to see a speedy end to the bloodshed of humanity.

1) The Jewish workmen of London were represented through delegates of the Labor League for Jewish Rights.

The Jewish working class furthermore desires from the bottom of its heart that the Socialist International shall with all celerity reorganize and resume its mission to establish the brotherhood of nations, to bring about a democratic solution of the European conflict, to continue the struggle for the liberation of the workers from capitalist oppression and to create the superior social order which will make war impossible.

Inasmuch as England, the land of democracy, goes hand in hand with Russia, the most reactionary Power of Europe, which oppresses the small nations and especially the Jews, we call upon the English people and particularly upon the English working class to prevail upon the Government to see to it that Russia does not oppress and mistreat its own population of the various nationalities, and that it stops the persecution of the Jews and the instigation of pogroms against them.

We declare it the duty of the people to influence their respective Governments that European national questions shall be solved on a democratic basis, in the sense of securing and protecting the rights of oppressed nationalities, as well as of national minorities everywhere, excepting none.

We demand full equality for the Jews of Russia, Roumania, and of all other lands, where they are under disabilities, and the abrogation of all restrictions against immigration into and settlement in Palestine, as well as in all other countries.

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RESOLUTION OF THE JEWISH WORKERS' ASSOCIATIONS OF WARSAW CONCERNING YIDDISH AS THE LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION.

At a meeting of the executive boards of all the Jewish labor associations of Warsaw, the following resolution was adopted in regard to the language in the Jewish public schools, and submitted to the Citizens' Committee of Warsaw:

Setting out from the premise that the Jewish public school must be national, i. e. that the language of instruction must be the vernacular of the pupils; that, furthermore, the curriculum and the methods of teaching must be adapted to the peculiar conditions of the national environment, that the school must be the domain of the people alone, and in consideration of the fact that the 300,000 Jews of Warsaw constitute a specific national group, the meeting declares that the cultural interests of the majority of the Jewish population can be attained only through the Jewish school. The language of study must be Yiddish. Polish as the language of the land must take its rightful place as one of the school subjects. The school must be secular, compulsory and free of charge.

In view of the fact that the existing Jewish schools—Chadarim—are in their teachings and spirit contrary to the needs of present day social life and the fundamental requirements of national pedagogics; that being as they are designed to meet solely the needs of religion, they do not serve the interests of popular education,—the meeting declares that a new Jewish school system must be created. The Citizens'

Committee shall call into life a Jewish School Board whose members shall be representatives elected by the Jewish masses. This Board of Education shall be intrusted with the establishment and management of Jewish public schools.

This work cannot be intrusted to the Warsaw Jewish community administration because of its being an anti-democratic institution, foreign to the true cultural interests of the Jewish masses and non-representative in character. The Jewish School Board must receive a porportionate part of the funds placed at the disposal of the Citizens' Committee for educational purposes.

The meeting demands that the Citizens' Committee extend the principle of free and compulsory education also to the Jewish schools, so that the parents may have the liberty of choice in sending their children to either Polish or Jewish schools."